PAPERS

RELATIVE TO THE

EXPEDITION

TO THE

RIVER NIGER.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

J. J. SCHOENLEIN

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET,
FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

1843.

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Map of the River Niger, showing the course of the Expedition under Captain Trotter in 1841.

PAPERS

RELATIVE TO THE

EXPEDITION TO THE RIVER NIGER.

No. 1.

COPY of a LETTER from Lord JOHN RUSSELL to the LORDS COMMISSIONERS of HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY. — RIVER NIGER.

My Lords, Downing-street, 26th December, 1839.

THE state of the foreign Slave Trade has for some time past engaged much of the attention of Her Majesty's Confidential Advisers. In whatever light this traffic is viewed, it must be regarded as an evil of incalculable magnitude; the injuries it inflicts on the lawful commerce of this country, the constant expense incurred in the employment of ships of war for the suppression of it, and the annual sacrifice of so many valuable lives in this service, however deeply to be lamented, are not the most disastrous results of this system. The honour of the British Crown is compromised by the habitual evasion of the treaties subsisting between Her Majesty and Foreign Powers for the abolition of the Slave Trade, and the calamities which, in defiance of religion, humanity, and justice, are inflicted on a large proportion of the African continent, are such as cannot be contemplated without the deepest and most lively concern. The Houses of Lords and Commons have, in their addresses to the Crown, expressed in the most energetic terms the indignation with which Parliament regards the continuance of the trade in African slaves, and their anxious desire that every practicable method should be taken for the extinction of this great social evil. — No. 1.

To estimate the actual extent of the foreign Slave Trade is, from the nature of the case, an attempt of extreme difficulty; nor can anything more than a general approximation to the truth be made. But after the most attentive examination which it has been in my power to make of official documents, and especially of the correspondence communicated to Parliament from the department of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I find it impossible to avoid the conclusion, that the average number of slaves introduced into foreign states or colonies in America and the West Indies, from the western coast of Africa, annually exceeds 100,000. In this estimate a very large deduction is made for the exaggerations which are more or less inseparable from all statements on a subject so well calculated to excite the feelings of every impartial and disinterested witness. But making this deduction, the number of slaves actually landed in the importing countries affords but a very imperfect indication of the real extent of the calamities which this traffic inflicts on its victims. No record exists of the multitudes who perish in the overland journey to the African coast, or in the passage across the Atlantic, or of the still greater number who fall a sacrifice to the warfare, pillage, and cruelties by which the Slave Trade is fed. Unhappily, however, no fact can be more certain than that such an importation as I have mentioned presupposes and involves a waste of human life, and a sum of human misery, proceeding from year to year, without respite or intermission, to such an extent as to render the subject the most painful of any which, in the survey of the condition of mankind, it is possible to contemplate.

The preceding statement unavoidably suggests the inquiry, why the costly efforts in which Great Britain has so long been engaged for repressing the foreign Slave Trade have proved thus ineffectual? Without pausing to enumerate the many concurrent causes of failure, it may be sufficient to say that such is the difference between the price at which a slave is bought on the coast of Africa and the price for which he is sold in Brazil or Cuba, that the importer receives back his purchase-money tenfold on the safe arrival of his vessel at the port of destination. It is more than probable that the general profits of the trade, if accurately calculated, would fall exceedingly below this estimate, as indeed it is certain that in many cases it is carried on at a ruinous loss. But your Lordships are well aware how powerful and constant an impulse may be given to any species of illegal traffic, however hazardous, when they who engage in it are allured by the hope of very large and quick returns, if their good fortunes could enable them to escape the penalties of

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the law. It may, therefore, be readily understood how effective is such a stimulus, when, as in the case in question, the law itself is regarded with general disfavour in the society to which the violater of it belongs, and is reluctantly executed by the government of that society. We must add to this exciting motive the security which is derived from insurances, and insurance companies, which are carried on to a great extent, and combined powerful interests. Under such circumstances, to repress the foreign Slave Trade by a marine guard would scarcely be possible if the whole British navy could be employed for that purpose. It is an evil which can never be adequately encountered by any system of mere prohibition and penalties.

Her Majesty's Confidential Advisers are, therefore, compelled to admit the conviction that it is indispensable to enter upon some new preventive system, calculated to arrest the foreign Slave Trade in its source, by counteracting the principles by which it is now sustained. Although it may be impossible to check the cupidity of those who purchase slaves for exportation from Africa, it may yet be possible to force on those by whom they are sold the persuasion that they are engaged in a traffic, opposed to their own interests when correctly understood.

With this view it is proposed to establish new commercial relations with those African chiefs or powers within whose dominions the internal Slave Trade of Africa is carried on, and the external Slave Trade supplied with its victims. To this end the Queen has directed Her Ministers to negotiate Conventions or Agreements with those Chiefs and Powers, the basis of which conventions would be, first, the abandonment and absolute prohibition of the Slave Trade; and, secondly, the admission for consumption in this country, on favourable terms, of goods the produce or manufacture of the territories subject to them. Of those Chiefs, the most considerable rule over the countries adjacent to the Niger and its great tributary streams. It is, therefore, proposed to dispatch an Expedition which would ascend that river by steam-boats, as far as the points at which it receives the confluence of some of the principal rivers falling into it from the eastward. At these, or at any other stations which may be found more favourable for the promotion of a legitimate commerce, it is proposed to establish British factories, in the hope that the natives may be taught that there are methods of employing the population more profitable to those to whom they are subject than that of converting them into slaves, and selling them for exportation to the slave traders.

In this communication it would be out of place, and indeed impracticable, to enter upon a full detail of the plan itself; of the ulterior measures to which it may lead, or of the reasons which induce Her Majesty's Government to believe that it may eventually lead to the substitution of an innocent and profitable commerce, for that traffic by which the continent of Africa has so long been desolated. For my immediate purpose it will be sufficient to say that, having maturely weighed these questions, and with a full perception of the difficulties which may attend this undertaking, the Ministers of the Crown are yet convinced that it affords the best, if not the only, prospect of accomplishing the great object so earnestly desired by the Queen, by her Parliament, and her people.

16 November.

Having instituted a careful inquiry as to the best and most economical method of conducting the proposed Expedition, I find from the enclosed communication from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that it will be necessary to build three iron steam-vessels for this service, and that the first cost of those vessels, including provisions and stores for six months, will amount to 35,000*l*. It further appears that the annual charge of paying and victualling the officers and men will be 10,546*l*. The salaries of the conductors of the Expedition, and of their chaplain and surgeon, will probably amount to 4,000*l*. In addition to this expenditure, presents must be purchased for the Chiefs, and tents, mathematical instruments, with some other articles of a similar kind, will be indispensable for the use of the persons who are to be engaged in this service, when at a distance from their vessels. I have some time since given directions for the completion of this additional estimate, but with those directions it has not hitherto been found practicable to comply. The charge for this branch of the proposed service will not be very considerable.

I have to convey to your Lordships my recommendation that in the estimates to be laid before the House of Commons for the services of the year 1840, the sums be included which are necessary to provide for the expenses of the proposed Expedition to the Niger, on the scale already mentioned, under the several heads of expenditure.

I have, &c.

The Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

No. 2.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from R. MORE O'FERRALL, Esq. to JAMES STEPHEN, Esq., dated 16th November, 1839.

No. 2.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit herewith, for the information of Lord John Russell, a copy of a report from Sir Edward Parry relative to the equipment and expense of the proposed steam-boat expedition to the River Niger.

. . . . . .

Enclosure in No. 2.

SIR EDWARD PARRY'S REPORT with reference to Mr. More O'Ferrall's Minute on Mr. Stephen's Letter of the 6th November, 1839.

Encl. in No. 2.

IN order to afford a reasonable prospect of success in the object which Her Majesty's Government has in view in sending an expedition up the River Niger, I conceive that three steam-vessels are indispensable. In many cases a fourth vessel of the smaller class might afford very important facilities, but in the estimates of the expense I am about to offer the calculations are confined to three.

The vessels should be built very strongly of iron, expressly for this service, the two larger to have very roomy and airy accommodations for their officers and crews, and to be of exactly the same size, rig, and power, with all their stores precisely alike. The third vessel, intended for detached service up smaller rivers, for conveying intelligence or sick persons, and especially for sounding ahead of the other vessels in difficult or unknown navigation, should also have her stores of every kind as much like those of the other two as possible.

The steam-engines of the three vessels, that is, two in each of the larger and one in the other, should be of the same power, constructed by the same manufacturer, and precisely alike in the most minute particular, so that the duplicate (or spare) parts may fit any of the engines without selection or alteration.

This arrangement, both as regards the engines and all the other parts of the equipment, is obviously of the greatest importance, in increasing the resources of the Expedition, where the means of repair must be limited, and the distance from any regular establishment great, for a considerable time. It may also be observed, that the expense of duplicate parts for the engines, and the quantity of spare stores of every other kind, are greatly reduced by this arrangement.

After consulting with Captain Trotter and other competent persons, I am of opinion that the vessels should be of about the following dimensions:—

The two Larger.

Length on deck	136 feet.
Breadth of beam	27 „
Depth of hold	10 „
Tonnage, about	440 tons.
Draught of water not to exceed	4 feet 9 inches.
Two sliding keels	6 feet deep.

Each of the larger vessels to have two engines of 35 horse power each engine, that is, an aggregate power of 70 horses; to carry coals for 15 days (of 12 hours), and to be fitted with projections over the gunwale on each side, like the vessels on the American rivers, for the convenience of stowing a supply of wood for fuel.

The smaller Vessel.

Length on deck	110 feet.
Breadth of beam	22 „
Depth of hold	8 feet 6 inches.
Draught of water not to exceed	3 feet.

To carry one engine of 35-horse power, and coal for 10 days (of 12 hours).

The estimated expense of building and equipment is as follows:—

	£.
Cost of the two larger vessels, including engines, masts, rigging, sails, anchors, cables, and fixtures	24,000
Cost of the smaller vessel, including the same	6,750
Ordinary provisions for six months	1,146
Preserved meats and soups extra for sick	1,104
Stores for six months	2,000
Total first cost, and equipment for six months	35,000

It will be necessary also to furnish the Expedition with a supply of articles as presents to the natives, which are not included in the foregoing estimate.

. . . . . .

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The annual charge for paying and victualling the officers and men upon the annexed scale of establishment (which is considered to be a proper one), will be nearly as follows:—

	1st Vessel.	2d Vessel.	3d Vessel.
	£.	£.	£.
Wages	3032	2789	2077
Victuals	990	974	684
	4022	3763	2761

Total Annual Charge for Wages and Victuals . £10,546.

It will, in my opinion, be highly expedient to contract with one iron shipbuilder for the whole of the vessels and engines; the selection of the manufacturer of the engines, as well as the plan of their construction, being strictly subject to the approval of the Admiralty.

And as there are only two or three individuals who understand the peculiar art of iron shipbuilding, and Messrs. Laird, of Liverpool, are the most eminent and experienced in this line, I recommend that they be desired to furnish plans and estimates for this undertaking. Messrs. Laird have already built several iron vessels for enterprises of this nature; among the rest, for the Euphrates expedition; and one of these gentlemen being himself an African traveller of considerable reputation, they would not only bring to the subject much more information and experience than any other persons can possess, but would also take a deep personal interest and pride in making the vessels in all respects fit for this important undertaking. I may add, that Messrs. Laird are now under contract with the Admiralty for furnishing an iron steam-vessel for a Dover packet, with her engines and everything complete for sea, in the manner above recommended.

I find on inquiry, that one of such larger vessels as I have proposed might with great exertion be completed, with her engines, in eight months from the date of the order, a second in nine months, and the third in ten months. But as their complete equipments for sea would require some weeks after they are out of the manufacturer's hands, and the Expedition ought to be *bonâ fide* ready to leave England by the 15th of October, no time should be lost in calling for the plans and estimates. Indeed I have reason to believe that the demand for iron vessels, especially for foreign countries, is becoming so urgent, that unless the order be very soon given, it is doubtful whether the vessels could be completed in time to proceed to the Niger next year at all.

As vessels of the description here proposed, though in all respects adapted to river navigation, cannot carry out with them, across the sea, anything like sufficient resources for an enterprise of this nature, it will be necessary that they should be accompanied, or perhaps preceded, by a transport to convey a supply of provisions and stores; a portion of these to be put on board the steam-vessels at the mouth of the Niger, and the remainder to be landed at Fernando Po, or some other convenient place, as a depôt for future use.

(Signed) E. W. Parry.

Admiralty, 14th November, 1839,

Classes.	First Vessel.	Second Vessel.	Third Vessel.	Total.
Captain (6th rate)	1	..	..	1
Commander	..	1	1	2
Lieutenant	2	2	1	5
Master	1	1	1	3
Chaplain	1	..	..	1
Surgeon	1	1	1	3
Purser	1	1	..	2
Assistant Surgeon	1	1	1	3
Mates or Midshipmen	4	4	3	11
Master's Assistant	1	1	1	3
Clerk	1	1	1	3
1st Class Engineers	1	1	1	3
2nd ditto	2	2	1	5
Stokers	4	4	4	12
Seaman's Schoolmaster	1	1	1	3
Gunners' Mates	2	2	1	5
Carpenters' Mates	1	1	1	3
Caulker	1	1	1	3
Boatswains' Mates	2	2	2	6
Quartermasters	3	3	2	8
Captain's Coxswain	1	1	1	3
Sailmaker.	1	1	1	3
Captain of Forecastle.	1	1	..	2
Ship's Cook	1	1	1	3
Captain of Main and Foretop	2	2	1	5
Cooper	1	1	..	2

Classes.	First Vessel,	Second Vessel.	Third Vessel.	Total.
Carpenter's Crew	2	2	1	5
Purser's Steward	1	1	1	3
Able Seaman	4	4	2	10
Captain's Steward	1	1	1	3
Captain's Cook	1	1	1	3
Gun-room Steward	1	1	1	3
Young Gentlemen's Steward	1	1	1	3
Serjeant of Marines	1	1	..	2
Corporal	1	1	1	3
Privates	6	6	3	15
Fifer	1	1	..	2
Total	58	57	40	155

Sir, Treasury Chambers, 30th December, 1839.

THE Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury having had under their consideration the letter addressed to them by Lord John Russell on the 26th instant, submitting a plan for the effectual abolition of the slave trade, and recommending that the expenses thereof may be included in the estimates to be submitted to Parliament, I have it in command to request you will state to his Lordship that my Lords will be prepared to sanction such estimates as may be required for the service in question.

I have, &c.

James Stephen, Esq. (Signed) G. J. PENNINGTON.
&c. &c.

Colonial Department, Downing-street, R. VERNON SMITH.
7th February, 1840.

(No. 1.) No. 3.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord JOHN RUSSELL to HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER.

Gentlemen, Downing-street, 30th January, 1841.

No. 3.

HER MAJESTY being earnestly desirous to put down entirely the traffic in slaves, and to substitute instead thereof a friendly commercial intercourse between Her Majesty's subjects and the natives of Africa; and Her Majesty having determined to send persons of trust to open a communication with the native African Chiefs; and, where it shall appear expedient, to conclude in Her Majesty's name with those Chiefs agreements calculated to attain the salutary objects above declared: Her Majesty has been pleased to approve that an expedition shall be sent for this purpose to the several African States which are situated on or near the sea-coast, within the Bights of Benin and Biafra, or within the mouths of the chief rivers which open into the said Bights, and up and within the river Niger and its tributary streams, as far as they shall be navigable for steamers of the size and draught of those which may accompany and form part of the expedition; or, in the event of the Niger and its tributaries not proving navigable for vessels of this size and draught, to proceed either by land or water to any place or places on their banks, or to any countries lying within a distance convenient to be reached, where, in the opinion of the Commissioners named in the accompanying Commission, it may be important and advisable to treat with the Native Chiefs, in conformity with the main objects of this expedition. And Her Majesty, having the fullest trust and confidence in your tried fidelity, zeal for the service, your prudence and ability, has, by the accompanying Commission under Her Royal Sign Manual, been pleased to appoint you to be her Commissioners to accompany and form part of the expedition for the aforesaid purpose described: and Her Majesty has further been pleased to command me to give you the following instructions for your guidance:—

1. I am, in the first instance, commanded to impress upon you Her Majesty's injunctions, that you act always and in all points respecting your commission cordially and in unison with each other. You will not withhold from each other the free expression of any variance of opinion; but you will distinctly understand, that if after due consideration you cannot agree, the opinion of that gentleman is to prevail whose name stands first in the Commission which Her Majesty has been pleased to give to you. In such event, however, each dissentient will, if he sees sufficient reason, record in writing his opinion, for the information of Her Majesty's Government.

2, 3. The First Commissioner, as commander of the naval portion of the expe-

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dition, consisting of three of Her Majesty's steam vessels, built expressly for this service, commanded respectively by the first, second, and third Commissioners, will receive instructions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to take on board the fourth Commissioner, and proceed to the river Niger, touching at Sierra Leone and Cape Coast Castle.

4. You will deliver to Her Majesty's Governor of Sierra Leone the letter addressed to him, which accompanies these Instructions; you will explain to him, and to Her Majesty's Commissioners of the Mixed Commission Courts established in that Colony, the objects of your commission; you will request them to afford to you such information and advice as they can give towards assisting you in the accomplishment of those objects; the substance of which information you will forward to this Office, and you will preserve all written communications.

5. You are at liberty to select at Sierra Leone, or at any part of the African Continent, within the limits of your Commission, and to take with you, as volunteers, any native Africans, or persons of African descent, whom you may meet with there, and who, in your opinion, may be likely to be of use to you as interpreters or otherwise, and who may be willing to accompany you on a fair and moderate remuneration, which you are hereby authorized to make to them for their services on this Commission, provided that such remuneration does not exceed the amount allowed in the Parliamentary Grant.

6. On your arrival at Cape Coast Castle, you will deliver the accompanying letter to Mr. Maclean, the President of the Court of Magistrates of that settlement. You will explain to him the objects of your commission; and you will obtain from him what information you can respecting the present state of those neighbouring parts of Africa to which your commission extends, particularly the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and respecting any other matters which may be of use to you towards the attainment of the objects of your commission.

7. In case you visit Fernando Po, you will find that the gentleman entrusted with the management of the concerns of the British Commercial Establishment there, is in possession of an instruction from the West African Company, of which I annex a copy, and you will obtain from him what information you can for facilitating the objects of your commission.

8. Arrangements will be made by the Admiralty for the purpose of enabling you, on your arrival at the mouth of the Niger, to proceed with the least possible delay through the unhealthy marshes of the Delta, till you reach Eboe, where you will immediately commence operations, with the view to the execution of the principal objects of your commission. From that point you will begin to visit, as you proceed, and prosecute those objects with the several native Chiefs in succession, up to the highest point of the Niger and its tributaries which you may be able to reach. But, if circumstances with which Her Majesty's Government are not acquainted should, in your opinion, render it expedient to change the order in which it is otherwise prescribed to you to make those visits, you are at liberty to do so. You will, however, in case of making any such alteration, transmit to me, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, as occasion offers, a statement of the reasons which have weighed with you in that proceeding.

9. Her Majesty's Government do not limit to any particular period your stay at any one place; but you will consider it as an indispensable instruction not to continue so long at any one place as to risk the successful prosecution of the objects of your commission at the remainder.

10. On your arrival at each native settlement, you will ascertain the proper mode for opening a communication with the Chief; and in all your intercourse with him, you will take care that you are treated by him with proper respect; and you will not neglect, also, to treat him with the respect which is due to the rank which belongs to him.

11. You will tell the Chief that you are sent by the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland to express Her Majesty's wish to establish friendly relations with him; and to settle and agree with him for the extinction of the Foreign Traffic in Slaves in his dominions; and for the substitution instead thereof of a full and free inter course and barter of all articles of innocent trade between the subjects of Her Majesty and those of such Chief, for his profit and advantage, and for the mutual use, comfort, and benefit of the subjects of both countries. You will ask him what articles he and his subjects are in want of, and you will express generally the readiness of this country to supply them; you will ask him what articles of trade he and his subjects wish to dispose of; and you will express generally the readiness of this country to purchase them. You will inquire what further articles of

native growth, or produce, or manufacture his country can supply as articles of useful export trade with Great Britain; and you will encourage him to the cultivation or production thereof, by expressing generally the readiness of this country to take off his hands, on fair and reasonable terms of barter, all such articles of useful trade for this country as he can supply, in return for all such articles of use, and comfort, and advantage to himself as he requires.

12. You will show to him the advantages of putting down the Foreign Slave Trade, and of building upon that abolition a lawful and innocent trade. You will say to him, that his subjects will thereby be induced to cultivate the soil, to value their habitations, to increase their produce, and to behave well, in order to keep the advantage which that produce will give to them; that they will thus become better subjects, and better men, and that his possessions will thus become more full of what is valuable. You will impress upon him, that he himself will no longer need to make, or to keep up, quarrels with his neighbours, or to undertake distant and dangerous wars, or to seek out causes of punishment to his own subjects, for the sake of producing from the odious Trade in Slaves an income to himself. You will explain to him, that the people of his country will, out of the produce of labour in cultivating, gathering, and preparing articles for trade, bring to him more revenues, and be consequently more valuable to him.

13. You will tell him, that Her Majesty, desirous to make that innocent commerce which is a benefit to all nations, a peculiar benefit to himself, proposes that, upon his abolishing the Slave Trade, not only he and his subjects shall have this free and advantageous commerce; but that he himself shall have, for his own share, and without any payment on his part, a sum not exceeding one-twentieth part value of every article of British merchandize brought by British ships and sold in his dominions; such proportion to be taken by himself without any reference to the amount of articles for which the remaining nineteen-twentieths shall be bartered with him or with his subjects; and you will make agreements with him on this subject conformable, as far as possible, with the draft agreement. You will, where possible, stipulate in return for a free right of barter for his subjects, and the abolition of any monopoly in his own favour, should such exist.

14. While explaining to the Chief the profit to be derived from the cultivation of the soil, you will not fail on all proper occasions, so far as you may deem it expedient and compatible with the main objects of your mission, to draw his attention to the superior advantages of free over slave labour: to impress upon him the impolicy as well as the injustice of slavery: and to acquaint him with the abhorrence in which it is held by Her Majesty and the people of England. You may remind him of the large tracts of waste land in his possession; state how unprofitable they are to him at present; and inform him that if he could procure such land to be cultivated by his subjects on a system of free labour, he would be justly entitled to receive a considerable share of the increased profits: far more than enough to counterbalance all the profits which could possibly arise from the continuance of the Slave Trade. You may further remind him that every man naturally works harder for himself than for another, and is more economical and more careful of his own property; consequently, that the produce of his country would be much greater by free labour than by any other system, and that he would derive a double advantage, first, from his share of the produce as a landlord, and afterwards from the duties he would get as Chief on the sale of the remainder. You may further intimate to him, that a compliance with the wish of Her Majesty's Government and her people, in this respect, would certainly increase Her Majesty's interest in his welfare, and enable Her Majesty and her people to render much greater assistance and encouragement in improving the condition of himself and his people, than could be afforded them during the continuance of a system of slave labour. But you must always bear in mind that the main object of your commission is the extinction of the Foreign Slave Trade, and all other points must for the present be considered subordinate.

15. You will, at the proper time, exhibit the presents with which you are furnished from Her Majesty, as proofs of the desire of friendship which the Queen entertains towards the Chief, and as samples of the articles, with which, among others, this country will be glad to supply himself and his subjects in as great a quantity as they shall want and wish, on fair and reasonable terms of barter. You should not distribute these presents to any of the Chiefs, except in those cases where you are satisfied that the interests of the commission in which you are employed imperatively require it; and further, you will also bear in mind the

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necessity of giving no more than is absolutely requisite; and especially with a view to avoid all possibility of in future impeding ordinary traffic with British or other merchants. In case any of the Chiefs or Head-men of the country should be willing to make presents, you are authorized to exercise your discretion in receiving or rejecting the same; all presents received being for the use of Her Majesty.

16. You will finally propose to him an Agreement upon the basis of the draft with which you are herewith furnished.

17. If, after earnestly discussing this matter with the Chief, you shall find that your arguments have not so far prevailed with him, as to induce him to enter into this Agreement for the Extinction of the Foreign Slave Trade in his dominions; and if he shall resolutely resist your suggestions and the wishes of Her Majesty to that effect; you will entreat and urge him to reconsider this matter, you will ask him to assemble his elders or head-men, and consult with them, before he finally rejects the proposals made by you.

18. You will, if permitted to be present at such conference, declare that the Queen your Sovereign, however powerful, is anxious only to promote peace and prosperity among them; that she offers them, through you, every advantage that they can want and that she can give, towards increasing, in a harmless and sure way, the wealth and power of the country; that you come but to ask them to give up the custom of exporting human beings as slaves, and in return to offer them a more profitable substitute in innocent trade; that if they wish moreover any help towards the production of any article, or introduction of any commodity or art for the benefit of their country, your Sovereign is disposed to assist them, and her subjects will be willing to supply at a moderate rate what they desire; and that you will express to Her Majesty their wishes, and forward their views to that effect.

19. While you describe the power and wealth of your country, you will, in all your interviews with the African Chiefs, and with other African natives, on the subject of the suppression of the Slave Trade, abstain carefully from any threat or intimation, that hostilities upon their territory will be the result of their refusal to treat. You will state that the Queen and people of England profess the Christian Religion; that by this religion they are commanded to assist in promoting good will, peace, and brotherly love, among all nations and men; and that in endeavouring to commence a further intercourse with the African nations Her Majesty's Government are actuated and guided by these principles. You will make allowance for the motives of fear, of distrust, of jealousy, of suspicion, by which native Africans, unaccustomed to treat with Europeans in this formal way, may, at first, naturally view the overtures made to them; you will make allowance also for misunderstanding, either of language, of manner, or of conduct, or of your object in seeking intercourse with them; you will also allow for any hardness of feeling you may witness in them on the subject of Slave Trade, a hardness naturally engendered by the exercise of that traffic, and, perhaps, in some cases, increased by intercourse with the lowest and basest of Europeans. You will endeavour to convince them by courtesy, by kindness, by patience and forbearance, of your most persevering desire to be on good terms with them; and you will be most careful to exhibit no signs of needless mistrust. You will on all occasions keep a strict watch, so that no mischief may, from open force or secret wile of the natives, ensue to the lives, liberties, and properties of yourselves, and of others committed to your care; and with this view you will be careful to be provided with adequate means for defence as far as possible; but you will on no account have recourse to arms, excepting for the purpose of defence; and you will bear in mind, that the language and conduct prescribed to you in this paragraph is that which you are to observe on all occasions in the course of your commission.

20. If, after all your attempts to attain the immediate object of your commission, you shall fail in it, you will conclude by telling the Chief and his head-men, that Her Majesty is bound to use all her naval means in conformity with the Treaties already entered into with other Great Powers to endeavour entirely to put a stop to the exportation of Slaves from the dominions of every African Chief; and that the Chief and his subjects will, when perhaps too late, see cause to regret their conduct.

21. In those cases in which, all your arguments and representations failing, you you will have been obliged to leave the Chief and his country, without accomplishing the immediate objects of your mission, you will be careful still even at parting to leave that Chief and his country in a friendly manner, in order to give room for future overtures, and for a reconsideration of the kindly meant efforts of Her

Majesty; and you will, if time and circumstances allow it, take an opportunity of visiting again those Chiefs, who in your first visit declined your overtures; and strengthened by the weight which your success elsewhere may have given to your negotiations, you will again urge the Chiefs to conclude an agreement, on the before-mentioned basis of the abolition of the Slave Trade.

22. In those cases in which you shall succed in inducing the Chief to make an Agreement on the basis proposed, you will where necessary, induce his head-men to join in the Agreement, and further urge him to make and proclaim immediately the law of abolition of the Foreign Slave Trade; and, if time will permit, you will stay to be witness of the immediate effect of the proceeding.

23. Two stipulations are inserted at the end of the Agreement which is to be proposed to the African Chiefs, under the head of Additional Terms for Special Cases.

These additional terms are not to be proposed to the African Chiefs generally, but to those Chiefs only to whom you may deem it especially expedient or desirable to submit such stipulations for their acceptance; and in no case are those additional terms, whether they shall be agreed to wholly or in part, to be inserted in the body of the Agreement, but to be added to it as Separate Articles.

24. The first stipulation is for abolishing human sacrifices. Her Majesty's Government are anxious, as a general principle, that you should show that your Government and yourselves respect the laws, and usages, and habits of the people you are commanded to confer with. But in the case of human sacrifices, the doctrines of the Christian Religion, as well as all natural principles of right and wrong, so utterly prohibit them, and the practice is so certain to perpetuate barbarism, and so calculated to prevent all safe and profitable communication, that you are authorized in this case to make an exception from the general rule of not interfering with the domestic institutions of each State.

Wherever, therefore, you shall find that human sacrifices exist, you will earnestly entreat the Chief to consider the reasons for complying with the earnest wish of our Queen, who desires their welfare, and who is so powerful a friend to them and to all whom she protects. You will, if necessary and prudent, assemble the head-men, and urge to them, as well as to the Chief, the considerations which should prompt them to abolish the practice, viz.:

The general and inevitable effect of human sacrifices, in lessening the population; and the particular evil of the practice, in depriving the country at times of persons the most serviceable to it, at the moment when they are most needed; the consequence, in all cases, of producing misery in the family from which the victim is selected; the utter subversion of all principles of justice, in taking away the life of any person, without any offence having been committed by the individual; the feeling of general insecurity of life, which such a practice produces, and the necessary abhorrence of Him who has created all men, to an act which is against every tie of human affection, and to a punishment which makes no distinction between innocence and crime.

You will earnestly entreat them to consider the great truths you have told them, and to break the bonds which chain them to this practice. But you will insist on this point no further, than by anxious exhortation and by affectionate advice; and should you fail at present, you will leave it to time and repeated counsel to produce a change, so devoutly to be wished.

25. The second stipulation is for a purchase of land for the erection of a fort.

It is considered desirable by Her Majesty's Government to have power to erect one or more small forts on the Niger, from whence, and by means of which, to watch over the due execution of the Agreements, to assist in the abolition of the Slave Trade, and to protect and further the innocent trade of Her Majesty's subjects.

Bearing these views in mind, you will, in your course up that river, select some one or more appropriate spots for the erection of forts for the above-mentioned purposes; and you will make with the Chief of the country a conditional bargain for the land, stating the purpose for which it is intended: you will pay down a small portion of the price, as security for the purchase and permission; and you will send or bring home, for the consideration and ultimate decision of Her Majesty's Government, reports and drawings explanatory of the spot and of its capabilities.

The spots spots should be chosen with reference both to defence and salubrity; to soil and to climate, not only of the spots themselves, but also of the immediate neighbourhood on both sides of the river; because the miasma from one side of a

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river will frequently, if carried by winds, produce diseases on the other side. They should be places where vessels may securely anchor and ride in safety. They should be in situations to which natives are likely to resort for trade; and if possible, in situations where natives have been accustomed to resort for that purpose. Means of a ready communication with the interior are also desirable for the positions; so that persons wishing to visit the interior from thence, for purposes of commerce or otherwise, may there find facilities for those objects. They should be in a neighbourhood where supplies for vessels may be got; and in a country where the inhabitants are well disposed towards friendly communication with British subjects; and they will be preferably situated if not far from some considerable mass of habitations. The establishment of a position near to the confluence of the rivers Niger and Tchadda, would, with its other advantages, have the additional and important one, that it would assist the British trade with both rivers.

26. You will promise to those Chiefs who shall sincerely aid in the views of Her Majesty, in abolishing the Slave Trade, that you will do all in your power for their assistance and protection, in case they should be attacked by enemies for the faithful performance of the conditions of the Agreement. But you will only make this promise where you see the prospect of being able effectually to perform it.

27. You will in every conference with African Chiefs, assure them that the Queen has ordered you on the service in which you are engaged for the benefit and happiness of the African race.

28. You are to understand generally, that any Agreement, of whatever nature, you shall enter into with African Chiefs, is to be held subject to Her Majesty's sanction; and that a clause is to be inserted in, or added to any such agreement, declaring that it is expressly reserved to Her Majesty to sanction, modify, or annul the same.

29. If several of the chieftains could be induced to unite together, and bind themselves by one Agreement to suppress the Slave Trade, such conjoint Agreement would greatly conduce to effect the principal object of your mission. You are therefore to avail yourselves of every opportunity to persuade the Chiefs to adopt this measure; and further, to procure in such Agreement the insertion of proper Conditions, to ensure to the respective parties mutual protection from all aggressions which might arise from their uniting in such an engagement.

30. You yourselves will be careful to abstain, during the whole course of your mission, from all barter or other bargain for the purposes of commerce, either on your own part, or by or for others; and you will also take care not to mix up either Her Majesty's Government or yourselves, in any way, in any commercial or agricultural speculation.

31. If the sovereignty over any country or place should be offered to Great Britain through you, you will engage to submit the proposal to your Sovereign.

32. You will also take care to be courteous and friendly towards the subjects of all civilized nations, whom you may meet in the course of your mission.

33. If at any place, in an independent State within the range of your commission, it shall appear to you to be desirable, that a resident agent on the part of Her Majesty, shall be immediately appointed, and enter on his duties, you are empowered to leave at such place provisionally, as British resident agent, any one of the gentlemen of your commission, or of the officers or others of the expedition, whom you may think competent and fitted to the duties of that situation. You may assure to such gentleman an allowance proportioned to the circumstances of his situation, for one year only.

34. If, however, at such place, at which you are of opinion that a resident agent on the part of Her Majesty would be desirable, you shall find any respectable British merchant or factor, whom you shall see to be fit to be named provisionally British resident agent, you may appoint such person provisionally to that situation, subject to confirmation from home. It is supposed that the superior protection which this character will give to such a gentleman will be a sufficient compensation to him for his services.

35. In case you shall find, that any agents of foreign Chiefs or Powers shall be resident at the places at which you may touch, or that any negociations are going on between the Chief you visit and other persons or Powers, you will endeavour to learn the purport of them, and the views of the respective parties to such negociation, particularly with respect to the Slave Trade; and you will transmit these particulars to me.

36. You will make the commercial interests of Great Britain an object of your constant attention; you will countenance British subjects, trading innocently to the possessions of any Chief of that part of Africa to which your commission extends; always, however, excepting merchants trading to those countries or possessions, the Chief whereof has declined to abolish the Foreign Slave Trade; and if any British subjects, trading innocently as aforesaid to the Chiefs who shall have abolished the Trade in Slaves, should have any suit or pretension depending, you will endeavour to procure for them speedy justice. Yet, for the honour of Her Majesty, you will confine your interference to such cases only as may deserve the interposition of Her Majesty's name, for the proper relief of British subjects, and for their support in their just rights.

37. You will at every place you shall visit collect, and afterwards, as opportunities may occur, transmit to me, the most accurate information you can obtain upon the Slave Trade, whether carried on by the Chief only, or by his subjects only, or by both; the income derived therefrom by the Chief; the average number of slaves shipped or otherwise taken off in the course of a season; the countries or places from which they are supposed to have come; and the routes by which they are generally brought; and the circumstances by which in general they are supposed to have become slaves; the nations and the individuals by whom they are supplied; and the price paid for them, both in the country from whence they come, and at the place at which you make the inquiry; their course down to the spot where they are finally embarked for the Foreign Slave Trade; and the means whereby that trade can, at any of those places, be best prevented or stopped in its progress.

38. You will likewise make special inquiries as to the state of slavery existing in any country you may visit. As far as you can you will endeavour to ascertain the numbers so enslaved; what proportion they bear to the whole population; to what extent predial slavery prevails; the condition and treatment of slaves; whether liable to be sold, put to death, or how otherwise punished at the pleasure of the owner; whether the numbers are increasing or diminishing; who are liable to be made slaves and for what causes; whether emancipation is in any, and what cases allowed to take place; what powers the Chief possesses in respect of emancipating or improving their condition; what is the average value of slaves of different ages and sexes; and every other important particular calculated to throw light upon the character of domestic slavery at present existing in Africa.

39. You will also collect and transmit to me, in like manner, the most accurate information you can obtain, as to the extent of the possessions of each Chief you may visit; and as to his influence beyond those possessions; as to the number of his towns and villages; and whether they are walled or open; as to the number of the inhabitants in the principal towns, and the total supposed population of his possessions; as to the rivers which run through those possessions, their source, and mouth, and how far, and for what boats navigable; as to the numbers and condition of the army; as to the nature and amount of the contributions levied on the people; and what are the futher military and financial resources of the Chief; and what is the extent of the power possessed by the Chief over his subjects; how far it is limited by law or custom, or by power possessed by his elders or headmen; and whether the succession to the Chief is hereditary or elective; and also what is the personal character and influence of the present Chief.

40. You will in like manner collect and send to me the most accurate information you can obtain on the state of trade in those countries; on the state of agriculture, and the state of the mechanical arts; on the climate, and on the soil; on the general face of the country; and on their animals, tame and wild. You will learn, so far as you can, and enumerate the several productions of the soil, which, either in a raw or prepared state, may be turned to uses of commerce; and the several animals, and parts of animals, which may be turned to such uses. You will learn and enumerate such of those several articles as now form articles of trade; the frequency and duration of their markets; the general supply and the price of each article at them, and the quality of each article. You will state the nations to whom, and the purposes for which they are sold. And in respect to such articles of European produce or manufacture as you may see there, you will mark the price they bear; and the comparative desire the natives have for them; and how far the supply seems equal to the demand; and you will mark which of

those articles you take with you they appear most to esteem, and what others they ask for, and how it will be best to promote and increase an intercourse of commerce with them. You will, when you can procure them, get specimens of the several minerals, woods, grains, gums, and dyes, and, folding them in paper, state on that paper the name of the article, and place and date at which procured; and you will put down memoranda of the uses to which they are or may probably be applied.

41. You will collect also and give what information you can get on the religion of the natives; and on their state of civilization, including anything particular in their habits and customs; stating also their bodily appearance and mental character; and any striking virtues, vices, or talents, or capabilities of which they are possessed, and any peculiar diseases to which they are subject; and what is the appearance and composition of their habitations. And you will add to this account any particulars you can observe and learn respecting their implements, both of peace and war.

42. You will be careful to note down any traces of former visits of Europeans, at the places or provinces which you visit; stating their objects, if known, and the apparent effects, if any, of their visits.

43. You will perceive from these Instructions, that your attention as to the acquisition of information is first and principally to be directed to the countries on the banks of the Niger; but should very favourable opportunities arise, of sending persons into neighbouring parts of Africa, with a well-grounded hope of advancing the principal objects of your commission, you are authorized so to do, provided persons competent to such service shall volunteer; and in such cases you are empowered to direct them either to return to the steamers before they quit the river, or to proceed to the coast, according to such route as you deem most advisable. The expense attendant upon such subsidiary Commissions will be defrayed by Her Majesty's Government; but you will exercise this power so reposed in you, only when the state of circumstances appears to you fully to justify having recourse to this measure, and you will transmit in writing a statement of the reasons which may induce you to exercise this power, and the advantages expected to be derived from so doing. You will not fail to give all persons so employed by you full instructions for their conduct on such expedition.

Whereas, likewise, it may happen, on your progress up the Niger, that you may have good reason to believe that the great objects of your commission will be advanced by commencing a communication with Sokatoo, or the State of Bornou, or other countries at a distance from the Niger, in such cases you are authorized to send such proper persons as may be willing to go to the Chiefs of such States, to induce them to send agents, duly authorized, to meet you, for the purpose of concluding agreements for the suppression of the Slave Trade; and you will instruct all persons so sent by you to procure all useful information on subjects immediately connected with your commission as to the Slave Trade, and also as to the state of the countries thry may visit, in all important points, in laws of government, agriculture, and trade; and you will further direct them, so far as time will allow, and opportunity may occur, to record all interesting particulars as to the natural productions of the country, and other similar matters.

Instructions from the Admiralty will be given to the Officer commanding the Expedition, authorizing him, if circumstances shall render it necessary for effecting and securing the objects of this Expedition, to leave behind in the river Niger, one or more of the steam vessels, with power to the officer left in command, to come down to Ascension, and there refit, returning up the river or elsewhere when the healthy season shall again commence, and the interests of the service shall require it.

44. You will, in respect to each place which you visit, draw up a separate despatch, addressed to me, containing an account of your proceedings at that place; including also a statement of proceedings which had occurred since the date of the previous despatch.

45. You will also, in respect to each place, draw up a separate despatch, addressed to me, containing a statement of all the information which you have been able to collect respecting such place, under the heads on which you are directed to make inquiry; including in that despatch any information you have been able to collect, on any other points which you conceive may be interesting to Her Majesty's Government.

46. You will number each of your despatches to me, beginning with No. 1, and continuing the number in succession; and you will transmit them to me as occasions may arise, for the information of Her Majesty's Government; and you will keep copies of each of these reports, to provide for the case of accident.

47. You will also each of you keep minute daily Journals of every transaction which may take place under your eyes; noting down in that journal the occurrences as they take place, and the information as it is given to you, together with the observations you make on it at the time: and you will on your return make up each of you and deliver to me, a full and complete narrative, in writing, of all affairs that have come to your knowledge during your mission, which you may deem worthy of communication to Her Majesty's Government, and which may not have been included in the general despatches; including also a report on the details and result of your commission; and accompanying that report by a copy of your journals.

48. You will be furnished, at the cost of Her Majesty's Government, with a set of such books, maps, and charts, and instruments, as you conceive may be useful to you in your commission; and on your return you will transmit the collection to this office, together with the originals of the official papers in your custody.

49. When the most important points of your commission are fulfilled, it may happen that a part may yet remain, which will not require the presence of all the Commissioners; in that case such of you as may be safely spared without detriment to the service may return to England:—the rest will remain so long as you may deem it necessary, or as may be directed by orders from Her Majesty's Government. With respect to the withdrawal of any of Her Majesty's ships, the commander of the Expedition will receive instructions from the Admiralty.

50. You will receive from me, and conform to, such further instructions and directions as Her Majesty's Government shall from time to time have to give you, for your guidance in the interests confided to your care.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

To Captain Henry D. Trotter, R.N.,
Commander W. Allen, R.N.,
Commander Bird Allen, R.N.,
William Cook Esq.,
Her Majesty's Commissioners of the Expedition to the Niger.

Enclosure in No. 3.

DRAFT of AGREEMENT to be Proposed to African Chiefs.

THERE shall be Peace and Friendship between the people of Great Britain and the people of , and the Slave Trade shall be put down for ever in , and the people of Great Britain and the people of , shall trade together innocently, justly, kindly, and usefully: and A, B, &c., Commissioners on the part of the Queen of Great Britain, and C on the part of the Chief of , do make the following Agreement for these purposes.

I. The Slave Trade shall be utterly abolished in , and from the signing of this Agreement no persons whatever shall be removed out of the country for the purpose of being treated or dealt with as slaves; nor shall any persons whatever be allowed to be brought through the country, or any part thereof, for the purpose of being treated or dealt with as slaves, by way of exportation or otherwise: nor shall any persons whatever be imported into the country for the purpose of being dealt with as slaves, and no subject of shall be in any way concerned in the exporting or importing slaves, or carrying on the Slave Trade either within or without the limits of the country. The Chief promises to inflict reasonable punishment on all his subjects who may break this law.

II. The officers of the Queen of Great Britain may seize every vessel or boat of found anywhere carrying on the Trade in Slaves, and may also seize every vessel or boat of other nations, with whom a similar Agreement has been made, found carrying on the Trade in Slaves in the waters belonging to the Chief of ; upon such seizure, and after regular condemnation according to the provisions of this Agreement, the slaves shall be made free, and the vessels or boats shall be destroyed, unless sale thereof shall be mutually agreed upon by the Parties to this Agreement; if sold, the produce of the sale shall be divided equally between the Queen of Great Britain and the Chief of .

III. That in all cases of the seizure of vessels and boats, with slaves on board, under the provisions of this Agreement, the said Commissioners, or those of them who may be present, and in their absence, the Commissioned or Commanding officer on board the British vessel making the seizure, shall in presence of the Chief or head man appointed by him make due examination and inquiry into the case, and shall condemn the said vessel or boat with the slaves on board, if satisfied that the provisions of this Agreement have been thus contravened, or otherwise acquit and restore the same.

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IV. That from and after the signing of this Agreement no person whatever coming into the country shall be reduced into slavery, or treated or used as slaves. All white persons whatever, and all British subjects of whatever colour, at present detained in slavery shall be immediately set free.

V. British people may freely come into the country, and may stay in it or pass through it; and they shall be treated as friends while in it; and they may leave the country with their property when they please.

VI. Christians of whatever nation or country peaceably conducting themselves in the dominions of the Chief of shall be left in the free enjoyment and exercise of the Christian religion, and shall not be hindered or molested in their endeavours to teach the same to all persons whatever willing and desirous to be taught: nor shall any subject of who may embrace the Christian faith be on that account, or on account of the teaching or exercise thereof, molested or troubled in any manner whatsoever.

VII. British people may always trade freely with the people of , in every article which they may wish to buy or sell; and neither the British people nor the people of shall ever be forced to buy or to sell any article, nor shall they be prevented from buying or selling any article with whomsoever they please; and the customs and dues taken by the Chief of on British goods imported for sale shall in no case be more altogether than one th part of the goods imported, or their ascertained value.

VIII. The paths shall be kept open through the country to other countries; so that British traders may carry goods of all kinds through the country to sell them elsewhere; and the traders of other countries may bring their goods through the country to trade with the British people.

IX. British people may buy, and sell, or hire lands and houses in the country; and their houses shall not be entered without their consent, nor shall their goods be seized, nor their persons touched; and if British people are wronged or ill-treated by the people of , the Chief of shall punish those doing such wrong.

X. But British people must not break the Laws of the country; and when they are accused of breaking the Laws, the Chief may detain the person charged with committing any grievous crime, in safe custody, taking care that he be treated with humanity; and shall send a true account of the matter to the nearest place where there is a British force; and the commander of such British force shall send for the British person, who shall be tried according to British Law, and shall be punished, if found guilty; and a report of such punishment shall be forwarded to the Chief, for his satisfaction.

XI. If the people should take away the property of a British person, or should not pay their just debts to a British person, the Chief of shall do all he can to make the people restore the property, and pay the debt; and if British persons should take away the property of the people, or should not pay their just debts to the people, he shall be subject to the laws of the country for the recovery of the same; provided always that no injury be done to his person. The Chief of shall make known the fact to the Commander of the British force nearest to the country, or to the resident Agent, if there is one; and the British Commander, or the Agent, whichever it may be, shall do all he can to make the British persons restore the property, and pay the debt.

XII. The Queen of Great Britain may appoint an Agent to visit , or to reside there, in order to watch over the interests of the British people; and to see that this Agreement is fulfilled; and such Agent shall always receive honour and protection in the country; and the Chief shall pay attention to what the Agent says; and the person and property of the Agent shall be sacred.

XIII. The Chief of shall, within forty-eight hours of the date of this Agreement, make a Law for carrying the whole of it into effect; and shall proclaim that Law, and the Chief of shall put that Law in force, from that time for ever.

XIV. The Queen of Great Britain, out of friendship for the Chief of , and because the Chief of has made this Agreement, gives him the following articles:—

and the Chief of hereby acknowledges he has received those articles.

And so, we and have made this Agreement, and have signed it at this day of , and this Agreement shall stand for ever.

[Signatures.]

Witnesses.

ADDITIONAL TERMS.

For special cases.

Stipulation.

That from the signing of this Agreement, no human being whatever shall be sacrificed on account of religious or other ceremonies or customs.

Stipulation.

The Chief of sells, and from this time forward makes over to the Queen of Great Britain the land from to , and everything in it, entirely and for ever, for the sum of , of which is now paid to him. And the British people after they shall have had possession of the said land for months shall, in case they wish to keep the same, pay to the Chief of , the remainder of the price above

stated, either at once, or in five annual instalments; and when the land, according to this Agreement, has been delivered over to the British people, the same shall remain the property of the Queen, to all intents and purposes.

(No. 2.) No. 4.

COPY of a DESPATCH from LORD JOHN RUSSELL to HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER.

Gentlemen, Downing-street, 30th January, 1841.

No. 4.

IN my general Instructions of this day's date, I have authorized you to make a conditional bargain of a site of land on the Niger, for the erection of a fort. But I have also instructed you that you are not authorized to accept, on behalf of Her Majesty, the sovereignty over any province or place which might be offered through you to the Crown.

The question of establishing British sovereignty in Africa must be reserved for future consideration and decision. But you will perceive, from the accompanying copy of a letter, which has been addressed to me by Dr. Lushington and by Sir Fowell Buxton, that they have urged the establishment of such sovereignty as indispensable, in their judgment, for the success of the views of an Agricultural Society, who contemplate the prosecution of the special objects explained in that letter.

August, 1840.

Dr. Lushington and Sir Fowell Buxton are desirous for the purchase of the sovereignty over a territory not exceeding 100 miles square, in which the Agent of the Agricultural Society adverted to would, on behalf of that body, purchase, in fee simple, the most eligible spot for the purposes of the Society.

I can only, however, at present instruct you to make this proposition the subject of your most careful inquiry, with a view to your reporting:—

1st. Whether a tract of land of the nature of that required could easily be obtained, and upon what terms.

2ndly. Whether such territory might be acquired in a district deemed tolerably healthy for Europeans.

3rdly. Whether the neighbouring tribes would be likely to be friendly or hostile to the proposed agricultural establishment; and

4thly. What force would be required for the protection of such territory.

You will have carefully to weigh, therefore, the practicability, advantages, and dangers of acquiring sovereignty for the Crown over a considerable territory. You are not to satisfy yourselves that a single Chief is willing to sell his dominions, or a portion of them, but are to consider the hazard of jealousy and of hostility being excited among neighbouring Chiefs by the appearance of the British flag as a token of sovereign power in the midst of their possessions. You will have to calculate the force that would be necessary to maintain and defend the territory that might be acquired,—the facility or difficulty of relief,—the extent of territory necessary to protect those who might seek shelter and security within its borders, as well as the danger of invasion from any European Power, which might have settlements on the coast.

I have, &c.

Her Majesty's Commissioners, (Signed) J. RUSSELL.
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure 1, in No. 4.

Dr. LUSHINGTON and Sir T. F. BUXTON to LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

My Lord, London, 7th August, 1840.

IN your Lordship's letter of 26th December, 1839, printed by order of the House of Commons, we have a very distinct explanation of the views of the British Government with regard to the suppression of the Slave Trade, and of the wise and elevated motives which induce them to resort to expedients hitherto untried for the accomplishment of that great purpose. From that document we learn that it is intended to effect the abolition of the Slave Trade, "by teaching the natives of Africa that there are methods of employing the population more profitable to those to whom they are subject than that of converting them into slaves, and selling them for exportation to the slave trader;" that factories are to be established at the stations on the Niger; and that "the Queen has directed her Ministers to negociate conventions with the African Chiefs and Powers;" the basis of which conventions would be,—

Encl. 1, in No. 4. For Lord J. Russell's Letter to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, 26th Dec., 1839, vide Paper No. 57, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 8th February, 1840.

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1st. The abandonment and absolute prohibition of the Slave Trade; and

2ndly. The admission for consumption in this country on favourable terms of goods the produce or manufacture of the territories subject to them.

The main object, then, of the Expedition is to promote the extended cultivation of the soil of Africa; and in order to do this, British stations are to be established on the river, and African produce admitted for British consumption on favourable terms. We need hardly express our humble but cordial acquiescence in these views; and our conviction, corresponding with that of Her Majesty's Government, that "this plan affords the best, if not the only prospect, of accomplishing the great object so earnestly desired by the Queen, her Parliament, and by her people."

Your Lordship is probably aware that it is in contemplation, by some persons interested in the welfare of Africa, to make at this time an attempt to cultivate a district of that country. As a mere mercantile adventure, few would be disposed to embark in it; with a view to profit, it would be obviously expedient to wait till more was known, both of the advantages which the soil of Africa offers, and of the dangers to which the adventurers would be exposed. But gentlemen of the most acknowledged sagacity in the mercantile world, urged by a desire of rendering benefit to Africa, and convinced that there is no way of doing this so effectual as by demonstrating her agricultural resources, are willing to embark their capital, provided only that such facilities and securities are afforded to them as the Government have the power of bestowing.

For this purpose they require and trust that there will be no difficulty on the part of the Government in giving them a charter, limiting responsibility; they then will be prepared to make the experiment of cultivating a tract of country bordering on the Niger, and of raising, in the first instance, 50,000*l*., with the intention, if this trial be successful, of hereafter inviting the public to unite with them in finding the funds for more extended tillage.

We now proceed to inquire what are the necessary conditions, in order that this attempt may be made under the most favourable circumstances, and may lead to the most complete and striking exhibition of the effects which cultivation will produce, and the blessings it will bring with it.

In these settlements, persons, property, and lawful occupations must be protected; the produce of free labour must receive encouragement in the European market. Finally, a fitting example must be presented to surrounding nations of the benefits of Christianity, and of the advantages to be derived from civilized institutions. The simple enumeration of these particulars may suffice to show the impossibility of combining or securing them under any known form of native Government. All that is known of Africa, whether from British officers or missionaries, or scientific travellers, seem to concur in proving that settlements of this description must be kept apart from the contamination of prevailing native practices, and that their internal prosperity, not less than their external security, can be maintained in no other way than by placing them under the protection of the British Crown.

It is clear that in the districts where the experiment is made, the sovereign power must be held by the British Government, and the natives obey our laws, or we must be subject to their authority, and submit to such laws as they may impose. Our rule and our institutions would be a pure gain to the Africans. We might then insure security of person and property within the precincts of our settlement, and we might take care that there, at least, none of the native superstitions and bloody rites were practised.

It is not too much to say, that wherever British sovereignty shall be firmly established, there religious and civil liberty would instantly prevail, intestine wars and anarchy would cease, the aborigines would be protected, equal rights be enjoyed by all, and every motive, aid, and opportunity which public or private benevolence or enterprise might contribute towards the civilization of Africa would be most successfully brought into operation.

But supposing the natives to be rulers, we must submit to all their abominations, and consent to see human sacrifices made, and to be thwarted by the evil influence which such sights exercise on all attempts at civilization. We believe that no Company could be induced to endure this; and if that difficulty could be got over, we do not believe that our presence, under such circumstances, could effect any great advance in civilization.

If the districts cultivated by the persons to whom we have alluded are under the dominion of Great Britain, slavery must be abolished. This was done in Bulama, and is done at Liberia, and all persons resorting to those tracts of territory have been declared to be free; and it is remarkable that we have from Captain Beaver, on the one part, and Governor Buchanan, on the other, the strongest acknowledgments of the benefits which they severally derived from refusing to tolerate slavery under any form. But advantages of this kind are not the strongest arguments for our insisting upon free labour. The extended cultivation of the soil of Africa, if unaccompanied with precautions against slavery, may even aggravate and perpetuate this lamentable system; and every step towards extending and improving the resources of these countries may, with them, as with Egypt, prove a step towards promoting and encouraging predial bondage. In short, our paramount object is to establish free-labour cultivation, and to prove its superiority, thus providing wholesome and profitable occupation, and undermining the Slave Trade. If the district cultivated be British territory, there can be no slavery, and it is hardly too much to say that, under native rule, there will be no such thing at present as free labour.

Unless the territory which it is intended to till be subject to Great Britain, we shall be deprived of a large portion of the money which is to form the capital of our agricultural establishment. We look to members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, for a considerable portion of this capital. Some of them are ready to undertake agriculture in Africa, provided

that, in that country, they are circumstanced as they are already in England. The Government here finds them protection; they have no act or part in the matter; their scruples are not offended by having to ask for the aid of an armed police; they do not carry arms themselves, neither do they ask others to carry them. But unless we are sovereigns in the district we cultivate, our people must protect themselves, and must be ready, on every occasion, to turn out against the enemy.

Lastly. The British Government proposes to engage for "the admission for consumption in this country, on favourable terms, of goods, the produce or manufacture of the territories subject to them." And we readily admit that no inducement could be devised more efficacious for the purpose of leading the native powers to unite with us in the suppression of the Slave Trade; it would provide for them the two things which they most require—a market for their own products, and a liberal supply of European goods; but we are at a loss to conceive how this boon can be conceded, unless the territory on which these products are grown be British. In the latter case, the duties we impose may be as light as we please, and there will be no restraint as to the measure of encouragement which we may choose to give to the infant cultivation of Africa. But if the district belong to a native power, we shall be controlled by all our treaties with other nations, engaging to receive their commodities upon the same terms as those of the most favoured nations. We propose, for example, to grow sugar in Africa by free labour, to come into competition with the sugar of Brazil; we shall naturally be disposed to favour that which is intended as a blow against the Slave Trade, in preference to that which is produced by means of the Slave Trade.

In short, if the territory on which our capital is to be expended be British, we have it in our power to offer the most effectual encouragement for its growth; but the contracts we have formed with other nations forbid us to give this natural and powerful stimulus to the industry of tribes who are under native dominion.

Thus it seems that this great national experiment for awakening the people of Africa to a proper sense of their own degradation and misery, and for developing practically, and before their eyes, the advantages which they might derive from the resources of their soil and the pursuits of legitimate commerce, is liable to be defeated, and that system which it is declared affords the best, if not the only, prospect of accomplishing the suppression of the Slave Trade, will be exposed to difficulties at every step, unless the experiment be made in the first instance on land belonging to the British Crown.

We shall lose the aid of the Society of Friends, our settlements will have to defend themselves, and thus be either weak, and so tempt native cupidity, or, if strong, themselves be tempted to aggression. We shall be unable to encourage it in its earlier stage by favourable and light duties on its products. We shall lose the vast advantages which may be expected from the absence of Slavery. We must submit to witness, and almost to connive at, those horrid rites which are practised in Africa under the name of religion.

In short, the administration of just laws, security, free labour, fiscal encouragement to African agriculture, constitute the essence of the new preventive system; without these the experiment is forlorn, no body of persons will be hardy enough to attempt it, and these essentials are only to be obtained on a territory attached to Great Britain.

The practicability of obtaining such territory is sufficiently indicated by repeated instances of willingness on the part of the Chiefs and people of Africa to dispose of territory (sovereignty and soil included) for adequate considerations.

By far the greater number of treaties made with African nations contain stipulations for the cession of territory, either absolutely or with reservations, and upon condition either of receiving a subsidy, or of enjoying the advantages of British protection and commerce. The preamble to many of these treaties attests beyond any question the sense entertained by the natives of the insecurity of their own condition, and their ardent desire to find refuge under a regular form of Government.

It is true that it has been the practice of the Government of late years to discourage arrangements of this description in Africa, and no doubt wisely. When the benefit contemplated was the extension of our dominions, the Government showed their moderation by rejecting overtures which, if they gratified ambition on the one hand, entailed responsibility and expense on the other; but the present plan suggests a definite object of a magnitude and importance which would seem fully to justify the adoption of a different policy. If we acquire sovereignty over any given district in the neighbourhood of the Niger, it will be, not for the purpose of enlarging the limits of our Empire, but for the purpose of accomplishing an object beyond all others dear to the disinterested benevolence of this country, and of rescuing one of the most forlorn and populous regions of the world from the miseries of the Slave Trade. It has been truly observed that "the state of Africa is such that, change as it may, it cannot change for the worse:" this is especially true with respect to the principles and objects of the present plan, which presents a striking contrast to those of almost every scheme of emigration or commerce of ancient or modern times. The acquisition of land, and the assumption of sovereignty now recommended, will be based on a full recognition of the independent rights of African chiefs and nations.

It would be the result of voluntary cession, or of equitable purchase only. It would guarantee to individuals the possession of all personal and proprietary rights not inconsistent with justice and with British institutions. It would rest upon the firm footing of the mutual interests of both contracting parties; the benefits of Christianity and of British protection, on the one hand, amply compensating for the surrender of savage independence; and, on the other hand, the advantages of enlarged and regular commerce promising, at no distant day, a sufficient reward for the additional labours and responsibilities of extended government. It

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is to be borne in mind that opportunities of this kind, if much longer neglected, may be finally lost. The Portuguese, in addition to their extensive possessions in Western Africa, have already assumed the sovereignty of a district extending fifteen hundred miles along the Eastern Coast; the American settlement of Liberia occupies three hundred miles of the Western Coast, and, as we learn by a recent letter from Governor Buchanan, they are continually accepting the voluntary allegiance of Chiefs whose dominion stretches far into the interior. Your Lordship need not be reminded of the anxiety of the French to extend their African territory; and it is far from impossible that the Texians may ere long covet portions of the African soil for the very purpose of giving facility to the Slave Trade.

Your Lordship will observe that we do not now, for the first time, urge the necessity of acquiring sovereignty. In the observations of Sir Fowell Buxton, addressed to the Marquis of Normanby, and in the Right Honourable Stephen Lushington's Letter, to his Lordship, 31st July, 1839, the same doctrine is maintained, and British sovereignty is represented as the most effectual instrument for accomplishing the great purposes of the Government; and the only difference is, that we now propose that British power should be confined within much narrower limits than those which were formerly suggested by us. Our opinions are unaltered, that the acceptance of voluntary offers of sovereignty, extending over whole kingdoms, will be found the greatest boon which we can confer upon Africa, and the surest as well as the speediest mode of effecting the eradication of the Slave Trade. As, however, it is considered premature, at all events before the return of the Expedition, to resolve on any very important and decided mode of proceeding, we very reluctantly and with a clear sense of the delay which it will occasion, and of the impediments, not now existing, which may arise, forbear to press upon your Lordship the immediate acceptance of any such offer, should it be made.

We hope, however, no objection will be entertained to the Commissioners becoming the bearers of conditional proposals of this nature, subject to the approval or rejection of the British Government, in order that they may be considered under the light which the Expedition is expected to throw upon the state of Africa. The objections which are supposed to exist to the acquisition of sovereignty, upon a large scale, do not, we conceive, apply to the voluntary cession, on the part of African Chiefs, of portions of territory comparatively small. Our proposal is, then, that the Commissioners be instructed to purchase, on the part of the Government, the sovereignty of a territory not exceeding one hundred miles square, bounded as far as may be by natural objects, commencing beyond the limits of the Delta, and running into the interior in the direction of the Niger, so as to keep the river well in the centre. The agent of the Agricultural Society will also be instructed to purchase for the Company, in fee simple, the most eligible spot to be found within this territory, for the purpose of commencing the cultivation of the soil.

Supposing both these arrangements to be carried into execution, we shall have a settlement circumscribed within narrow limits, and favourable in soil and aspect for the agricultural purposes of the Company, and we shall have the adjacent and surrounding country under British authority, and thereby protected from the injury which would necessarily arise if the Slave Trader were permitted to prowl about the skirts of the farm. We shall have, moreover, the river running through the centre of the British dominion, and thus no longer open as a highway for the transport of slaves.

In asking for a territory one hundred miles square, we speak, as we necessarily must, indefinitely; but it may turn out that a much smaller extent may be sufficient for our purposes; this point, therefore, must be left in great measure to the discretion of the Commissioners.

We have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) STEPHEN LUSHINGTON,
T. FOWELL BUXTON.

Enclosure 2, in No. 4.

Governor BUCHANAN to Dr. HODGKIN.

(Extract.) Monrovia, February, 1840.

Encl. 2, in No. 4. I AM happy to inform you that the colony is at this moment in a condition of greater prosperity than it has been for years. You are, perhaps, aware that for some time previous to the beginning of the year 1839, several causes, both here and in America, had conspired to embarrass the society, and retard the advancement of the colony. Those causes are now removed; the union of several state associations, and the important changes in the administration of the society's affairs, have had the effect in America to combine the efforts of the friends of the cause, and to inspire the public generally with new confidence and zeal in its operations. Here the results have been still more conspicuous. For three or four years the colony had languished under administration feebly sustained by the society, and wholly without the energy or resources necessary to its purposes. As a natural consequence of the inefficiency of the Government, and the apparent indifference or inability of the society, the people grew careless, many of them despondent, business became dull, and many families left the colony, either to return to America or to seek employment in Sierra Leone. The strong influence before exerted against the Slave Trade was necessarily relaxed, and that evil grew apace and flourished on the confines of our territory, where it had long been unknown. Some of the colonists too, being out of employment and seduced by tempting offers of high wages and ready pay, so far forgot themselves as to engage in its service, not directly, indeed,

as dealers in slaves, but in building boats, selling fire-wood, &c. But as soon as it was known that the Society was reviving, and that the patrons of the colony had not abandoned them, a complete change began to take place among the colonists. As the representative of the society, I was received in every settlement with demonstrations of great respect; and on all hands I found the most cordial disposition to sustain my measure of reform and improvement. With their new confidence in the society and the Government, new hopes were inspired; a spirit of enterprise and industry was diffused, business returned to its old channels, and from that day forward everything has continued improving. The vessels of the slavers which visited our waters frequently are now never seen, and we have broken up every shore establishment within our reach.

I have spoken thus at length on the subject, in order to explain a state of things which has been much misrepresented, and from which most false and injurious impressions have been received with regard to the real condition of the colony, and the character of the colonists. It has been said, for instance, both in America and England, that the colonists were not unfavourable to the Slave Trade; and, in proof of it, some isolated fact, such as I have mentioned, is adduced as conclusive. The mode of proof is as unfair as the charge is false. The general voice of the colony has ever been loud against the Slave Trade, nor has any individual directly participated in it. Indeed, I am confident that the penalty of the law against it, which is death, would have been inflicted on any one who would have dared to violate it, even during the period I have alluded to, when the colony was actually left to itself.

The vessels which visited onr waters were generally under the American flag, and in all cases claimed to be regular traders, while the intercourse carried on with the colonists was in itself perfectly proper; but the very fact that they were obliged to conceal their real characters in order to procure that intercourse, shows conclusively the disposition of our people against them. No fact is more notorious along the coast than the uncompromising hostility of the colony to the Slave Trade. There is one aspect of the case of peculiar interest to the poor native, in reference to which, if his testimony cannot be heard, his conduct may at least be quoted.

The colony is an asylum to the oppressed and enslaved of all tribes around it! Here they flee from the storms of war, and the horrors of bondage, in the full confidence of protection and safety. The whole history of the colony, almost from the first day of its existence, is crowded with instances. Some of the most interesting and memorable character have occurred during my own residence here. At one time, during the month of July last, a King with several hundreds of his people, the wretched remnant of a once powerful tribe, fled to us for protection against a merciless foe, who had ravaged his country for the purpose of making *a whole nation slaves;* numbers were killed, and many more were captured, and the fugitives were closely pursued to the very boundary of the colony, but the moment they passed it, they were safe and free; the enemy, though flushed with victory, and thirsting for victims, dared not pursue them into our territory. These, and many hundreds more, who have in like manner escaped from the knife or the chain, are now living in the lands of the colony in peace, secure from all their foes; even since I commenced this letter, three poor creatures have arrived here as claimants for our protection from their own King, who had seized, and was about to sell them to the Spaniards at New Castres; one of them, a woman, has her back and shoulders shockingly mangled and cut.

This is one feature of the influence exerted by the colony; there are many others less apparent, but not less beneficial. Our relations with the several tribes in our neighbourhood continue of the most friendly character; and they have been lately considerably extended; in fact, an alliance with the colony is generally considered of such importance that no chief or headman is satisfied to be without it. The only interruption to our pacific intercourse with the natives during the past year was caused, first, by the resistance of a slaver (who had before my arrival established himself on the outskirts of the colonial territory) to an order to remove from our soil; and again by a predatory chief, who attacked some of the fugitive Deys, who were living under our protection, for the purpose of carrying them into slavery. The result of both these affairs will have the effect to deter others from a repetition of the like crimes.

About ten days since I had an unsolicited visit from eight kings, some of them living far in the country, for the express purpose of "making book," as they term it, by which they declared their devotion to the colony—their subjection to its laws—their co-operation in putting down the Slave Trade, and in return requested the friendship and protection of the colony. It is our constant aim to extend, by every proper means, political alliances not only, but also commercial relations and intercourse.

To this end, I am now just commencing a road into the interior, to start from the new settlement of Rosanberg, and extend, if possible, over the mountains into the Camwood region. By these means we shall be able to remove the inducements which the tribes of the interior feel peculiarly to prosecute the Slave Trade. In the absence of roads, it is quite impossible for them to bring their valuable productions down to the coast for trade; but when they find the commodities they desire brought by our traders to their very doors, and offered in exchange for the camwood and ivory, which are now worthless to them, it will require little argument to induce the abandonment of the hazardous and troublesome traffic in slaves.

Another effect resulting to the natives from a close contact with the colony is the increase of their wants, which begets a corresponding improvement in the habit of industry. In this mild and luxuriant climate, where the spontaneous productions of the earth are sufficient for the demands of nature, and the indolence of man is never disturbed by the cares of life, it is very difficult to draw adequate motives to exertion from mere argument or persuasion; but

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where these can be illustrated by the example of the comfort enjoyed from the fruits of industry in a well-regulated community, the point is gained; feelings of emulation are excited, and the simple-minded savage, no longer satisfied with his bark, mat, and thatched hut, listens eagerly to the advice by which he may attain to the dignity of clothes and a house. This is but the first step, it is true, in the ascending scale; but it is an important one, and will readily be followed by others of a higher character, inducing habits of industry, elevation of thought, and refinement of mind. In the same manner does the colony become the powerful agent in disseminating the Christian religion, by exhibiting its blessed influences on the social and political relations of life.

I must here express the pleasure with which I have heard that Mr. Buxton and others of your leading philanthropists in England have adopted the plan of forming establishments of Christian people along this coast.

It is of great importance to the cause of civilization in this country, that the commerce of the coast should be in the hands of Christian people, and I sincerely hope the proposed Association will take early steps to secure this object. The Ameriean and English traders traders now in this business, exert a most pernicious influence, both in fostering the Slave Trade, and demoralizing the natives.

Agriculture, I am happy to say, is prosperous. This year, besides supplying the colony, our farmers are selling a considerable quantity of provisions to foreign vessels and to the natives. In addition to this, there are several small coffee plantations in nearly every settlement; and in a few, fields of sugar-cane, and occasionally a patch of cotton. On the Society's farm, I am now erecting a large sugar-mill; we have already there about twenty acres of sugar-cane, of most luxuriant growth, besides corn, potatoes, cassada, &c. The people seem to be awakening to their true interest in cultivating the valuable staples of trade; and I have little doubt that in a few years these will constitute the chief objects of enterprise.

(Signed) THOS. BUCHANAN.

(No. 3.) No. 5.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord JOHN RUSSELL to HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER.

Gentlemen, Downing-street, 30th January, 1841.

No. 5.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a letter which has been received from the Board of Admiralty, covering a report from Commander Tucker, of the results of a mission upon which he had been sent to King Denny, of Sandy Point, in the river Gaboon, together with a letter from that Chief to Her Majesty, in which he solicits various articles of dress, and two easy chairs.

As it is probable that you will have to communicate with King Denny, in the prosecution of the great objects of the expedition under your charge, I think it desirable to authorise you to acquaint him, that he shall be supplied with the articles in question upon his engaging to abolish the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.

Her Majesty's Commissioners, (Signed) J. RUSSELL.
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 5.

Encl. in No. 5.

Sir, Admiralty, 1st September, 1840.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to transmit to you herewith a copy of a letter from Commander William Tucker, of Her Majesty's Sloop Wolverene, relative to an interview between that officer and King Denis, on the presentation of the gold medal and chain, transmitted by Her Majesty, and I am to request you will lay the same before Lord John Russell for his information.

I am, &c.

James Stephen, Esq., (Signed) JOHN BARROW.
&c. &c. &c.

Her Majesty's Sloop Wolverene,
Fernando Po, 31st May, 1840.

Sir,

IN the absence of the Commander-in-Chief, I have the honour to report to you for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that in obedience to their Lordships' orders to Commander the Honourable Joseph Denman, of the 8th January, 1840, I proceeded to and arrived in the river Gaboon, on the 15th inst., to present King Denis with the gold medal and chain transmitted with their Lordship's letter; and considering the services King Denis had already rendered Her Majesty's subjects, and wishing to obtain his agree-

ment for the total suppression of the Slave Trade, in his territory, and that it would be good policy to make him as friendly inclined towards England as I possibly could, particularly as the French have attempted to purchase from him the left point, at the entrance of the river, in order to erect a fort, and are gaining great influence in the Gaboon, which is one of the finest rivers in Africa, navigable for a vessel of the Wolverene's draught of water for about 70 miles, and having a rise of seven feet, and a place at Parrott's Island, beautifully situated for laying a vessel on shore, to careen her for re-coppering or repairing, and probably the best adapted for trade, having an inexhaustable supply of dye-woods of various kinds, gums also of various kinds, a great supply of ivory, bees-wax, and ebony. I took such measures as I thought would be most pleasing to His Majesty, and such as their Lordships would approve. I, therefore, on anchoring off his town, knowing the delight of the negroes in having salutes fired, I sent an officer to His Majesty, to request he would send me his national flag to hoist at the mast-head, and I would salute him; he replied, "that the English colours were his, and if I would hoist the English white ensign, when I fired the salute, he should know it was for him, and he should be proud," and I saluted him with 19 guns on the next morning, the 16th instant, as per previous arrangement. His Majesty visited the sloop most gorgeously dressed, with a retinue in various European and native costumes, and requested me to salute him, and let him see the men exercise, which I did again with 19 guns, and exercised the men at the guns, swords, and muskets, with which he was much pleased. His Majesty requested me to show him the medal, and to present it to him in the afternoon on shore with the marines, and small-arm men in attendance. I regret to inform you His Majesty was not pleased with the present, and asked why the Queen, meaning Her Majesty, the Queen of England, had not sent him out something good for him, such as a dress, with plenty of gold upon it, or an easy chair, and requested the purser to write the accompanying letter to Her Majesty, which he dictated, and asked me to deliver in person on my going to England, but which I now transmit, thinking it probable their Lordships will consider it more advisable it should be presented in the customary way.

His Majesty requested me to give him a flag for his national colours, and as I believe no nation has colours the same as the signal flag letter I, I gave it to him, and it was hoisted at his flag-staff, when he left the ship, about 3 P.M., under a salute of 19 guns; at the appointed time, 4 P.M., I landed with all the officers in full uniform with the marines, and both divisions of boarders, with their cutlasses, and having drawn the party up in a semicircle, in front of His Majesty, I suspended the medal round his neck, and delivered Her Majesty's gracious message, on which the marines fired a feu de joie; having been presented to His Majesty's wives, and visited the town, I returned on board, and sailed the next morning, giving His Majesty a final salute of 19 guns.

I regret to inform you that I tried my utmost to persuade His Majesty to put a stop to the Slave Trade in his dominions without success. His Majesty replying, that he made too much money by it; that if he stopped it, the Kings on the other side of the river would sell all the slaves, and get plenty of money, whilst he got none; and that if no vessel came to his river for slaves, he be very glad, at the same time, I beg to inform you, that if I can visit the Gaboon again, I have great hopes I shall soon be able to persuade His Majesty to make an agreement, which, when once made, I am confident he will keep.

I have, &c.

R. More O'Ferrall, Esq.,
&c. &c. &c.

WILLIAM TUCKER,
Commander and Senior Officer.

TO QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Sister,

KING DENNY, of Sandy Point, river Gaboon, must embrace you for the things you send me by Captain Tucker, your war ship Wolverene, who dashed them me this day with grand ceremony, which much pleased me.

King Denny was too much glad to save Queen's men belong Lynx, which cost one hundred and twenty dollars, which I too much glad to give Queen.

King Denny wish very much to be brother to Queen, and will be very glad suppose Queen no let Spanish ship come for slaves; and suppose Queen send plenty English ships to me for trade for ivory, gum, bees-wax, dye-wood, and ebony.

And King Denny wish my sister send me great coat, with secampotos or epaulettes, waistcoat, and trowsers, plenty gold in them; cocked hat, with gold and feather; sword and belt, plenty gold; and two easy chairs: and King Denny wishes Queen health and good bye.

King Denny very glad he hear Queen got husband.

his
KING + DENNY,
mark.

King Denny Town,
3rd day of Moon:
i. e. 16th May, 1840.

(No. 4.) No. 6.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord JOHN RUSSELL to HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER.

Gentlemen, Downing-street, 30th January, 1841.

WITH reference to my Instruction, No 3, of this day's date, I now transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter from the Board of Admiralty, covering No. 6.

RIVER NIGER.

copy of a report and of its enclosures from Commander Tucker, who suggests that in consequence of the Slave Trade being still carried on in the rivers Bonny, Nun, and Brass, no presents should be sent from this country to the King of Bonny, until the export of slaves from his dominions shall have ceased.

You will have the goodness therefore to avail yourself of any opportunity which may occur during your expedition, to intimate to the King of Bonny that Her Majesty's Government are determined to withhold all such marks of favour until they shall be assured that he has put a final stop to the traffic in question.

I have, &c.

Her Majesty's Commissioners, (Signed) J. RUSSELL.
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 6.

Sir, Admiralty, 5th January, 1841.

Encl. in No. 6. I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith for the information of Lord John Russell, a copy of a letter from Commander Tucker of Her Majesty's sloop Wolverene, dated the 14th of September last, No. 72, suggesting that no presents should be sent to the King of Bonny until the export of slaves from his dominions be finally stopped.

I am, &c.

James Stephen, Esq. (Signed) JOHN BARROW.
&c. &c.

Her Majesty's Sloop Wolverene, off the river Brass,

Sir, 14th September, 1840.

WITH reference to my letter of the 4th June ultimo, No. 38, I have the honour to send, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the following extract from Lieutenant Levinge's, commanding Her Majesty's brigantine Buzzard, letter of proceedings of the 23rd ultimo, and the following copy of a letter from Lieutenant Burslem, commanding Her Majesty's brigantine Viper, both relating to the Slave Trade carried on in the rivers Bonny, Nun, and Brass, and in consequence to request that no presents may be sent out for the King of the Bonny until the export of slaves from his dominions be finally stopped; and to inform you, that should Her Majesty's Government have already sent out a present for the King, and it be sent to me to deliver, I shall feel it my duty to withhold it until I receive further instructions, which, I trust, will be approved.

I have, &c.

R. More O'Ferrall, Esq., M.P. (Signed) WILLIAM TUCKER,
&c. &c. Commander and Senior Officer.

(Extract.)

WILLIAM TUCKER, Commander and Senior Officer.

No. 1, 14th Sept. 1840. "Dollars and doubloons were plentiful in Bonny, which is always the case after the arrival of a slaver in the Nun or Brass, as most of the slaves shipped off from there are purchased at Bonny."

(Copy.)

WILLIAM TUCKER, Commander and Senior Officer.

Her Majesty's Brigantine, Viper, at Sea,

Sir, 10th September, 1840.

No. 2, 14th Sept. 1840. I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that from information I received in the river Bonny, a constant supply of slaves are sent by canoes through the creeks to the rivers Nun and Brass for shipment; three hundred and sixty having been taken by a Spaniard previous to my arrival in the river.

I also beg leave to state, that having had an interview with the King relating to the above, he told me it was impossible for him to put a stop to his subjects trading in slaves.

I have, &c.

W. Tucker, Esq. (Signed) G. J. BURSLEM,
&c. &c. Lieutenant Commander.

No. 7.

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

12, Old Quebec-street, Portman-square,
18th February, 1841.

My Lord,

No. 7.

YOUR Lordship having called upon us to state our opinion as to the proper time for the Niger Expedition to leave England, and also as to the proper period for it to enter the river Niger; we beg to state, that from the best information we we have been able to obtain, we consider the first *week* in April the most eligible time for the departure of the steam vessels from this country, this would afford ample time for assembling the vessels at the Cape de Verde islands, and for sailing thence so as to arrive at the mouth of the Niger about the end of June. We are also of opinion that the 1st of July is the earliest time at which the river could be entered without risking the health of the crews by detention in the Delta; and we have come to this conclusion from late intelligence, which we have reason to believe authentic, that the Æthiope steamer, drawing about the same water as the vessels intended for the Niger Expedition, could not get beyond the Delta last year, for want of water, until the beginning of July.

We have, &c.

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER, First Commissioner.
WILLIAM ALLEN, Second Commissioner.
BIRD ALLEN, Third Commissioner.
W. COOK, Fourth Commissioner.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
&c. &c. &c.

(No. 6.)

No. 8.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord JOHN RUSSELL to HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER.

Downing-street, 23rd February, 1841.

Gentlemen,

No. 8.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, in which you report your opinion as to the proper time for the Niger Expedition to leave England, and also as to the proper period for the Expedition to enter the river Niger; and I request that you will apprize me whether, as you will now have had an opportunity of perusing Mr. Jamieson's second letter to me, you retain the opinion which you had previously formed as to the time at which the Expedition should sail.

I have, &c.

Her Majesty's Commissioners,
&c. &c. &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

(No. 2.)

No. 9.

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

Old Quebec-street, Portman-square,
23rd February, 1841.

My Lord,

No. 9.

IN answer to the inquiry contained in your Lordship's letter of this day's date, whether, after reading Mr. Jamieson's second letter we still retain the opinion we had previously formed as to the time at which the Expedition should sail, we have the honour to state, that although the information contained in Mr. Jamieson's letter of the 13th instant gives us encouragement to hope that the Expedition may find sufficient depth of water to advance through the Delta without delay, early in June, we do not conceive it advisable for the vessels to leave England until after the time of the Equinox, when gales of wind usually prevail, which may be considered over, at latest, in the early part of April. This arrangement would afford time for the Expedition to arrive at the mouth of the Niger in the beginning of June, though it might not admit of our remaining at the Cape de Verde Islands so long as we had anticipated.

We beg to add, that the delay of a few weeks in this country may be very

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advantageously occupied in completing the medicating apparatus of the steam vessels of the Expedition, which on board the Albert and Wilberforce cannot be accomplished before the 17th of March.

We have, &c.

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER, First Commissioner.
(At sea in the Wilberforce on her passage to Woolwich), Second Commissioner.
BIRD ALLEN, Third Commissioner.
W. COOK, Fourth Commissioner.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
&c. &c. &c.

(No. 7.)

No. 10.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord JOHN RUSSELL to HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER.

Gentlemen, Downing-street, 27th February, 1841.

No. 10. I HAVE had under my consideration your letter of the 23rd instant, together with a letter under date of the day following, which Captain Trotter has addressed to one of my Under-Secretaries of State.

Under all the circumstances which you have represented, I agree to your postponing your departure from this country until the "first week" in the month of April next; and I concur with you in opinion that the beginning of June will be the best time for ascending the Niger beyond the Delta.

I am, &c.

Her Majesty's Commissioners, (Signed) J. RUSSELL.
&c. &c. &c.

(No. 4.)

No. 11.

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

12, Old Quebec-street, Portman-square,
My Lord, 15th March, 1841.

No. 11. IN reference to that part of your Lordship's instructions to us, dated the 30th January, 1841, which authorizes the selection of interpreters at Sierra Leone and elsewhere, we beg to inform your Lordship that the Board of Admiralty has arranged with Captain Trotter that the Harriot transport, under the direction of an Officer of Her Majesty's steam-ship Albert, shall sail about the 19th instant from Plymouth for Sierra Leone to collect Kroomen for the Expedition, and return with them to the Cape de Verde islands, there to meet the vessels of the Niger Expedition on their arrival from England. We beg leave to suggest to your Lordship the propriety of profiting by the same opportunity to engage the services of the interpreters required for the Expedition, and as the Rev. Mr. Schön, at Sierra Leone, has been for some time making a selection of proper persons to act in that capacity, that he be authorized to engage them, with the power of offering three months' wages in advance, as many valuable men might, probably, then be induced to volunteer who would not otherwise leave their families without some such inducement.

By the above arrangement, it is hoped that the necessity of the steam-vessels going to Sierra Leone may be avoided; and in the event of your Lordship giving your sanction to it, it would be advisable that the Treasury should authorize the payment of 80*l.* to Mr. Schön in the event of his requiring it for the above service, to be paid out of the money voted for wages and victuals to interpreters.

We have, &c.

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER, First Commissioner.
WILLIAM ALLEN, Second Commissioner.
BIRD ALLEN, Third Commissioner.
(Absent) Fourth Commissioner.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
&c. &c. &c.

(No. 8.)

No. 12.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord JOHN RUSSELL to HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER.

Gentlemen, Downing-street, 25th March, 1841.

No. 12.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, and to acquaint you that the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury have authorized the Officer in charge of the Commissariat at Sierra Leone to advance the sum of 80*l.* to the Rev. Mr. Schön, in the event of his requiring it, for the purpose stated in your letter.

I am, &c.

Her Majesty's Commissioners, (Signed) J. RUSSELL.
&c. &c. &c.

No. 13.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord JOHN RUSSELL to CAPTAIN TROTTER, R.N.

Sir, Downing-street, 29th March, 1841.

No. 13.

I THINK it desirable to communicate to you a remark which has been made to me, namely, that the most unhealthy time of the year, on the Niger, is during the months of October and November, when the lands are drying after the rains.

It would appear to be desirable, therefore, that after you shall have ascended the river you should make every inquiry as to the best time for the return of the Expedition.

I am, &c.

Captain Trotter, R.N., (Signed) J. RUSSELL.
&c. &c.

No. 14.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Captain TROTTER, R.N., to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

Her Majesty's Steam-vessel Albert,
My Lord, Woolwich, 20th April, 1841.

No. 14.

IN reference to your Lordship's instructions, under date of the 30th January, 1841, I beg to observe, that it may happen that the objects of the Commission may be essentially advanced by one or more of the Commissioners being appointed for the purposes mentioned in the latter part of the 43rd section, or for other purposes not at this moment contemplated; and that the instructions furnished to us do not appear to allow the Commissioners to act unless all the Commissioners are present.

I would suggest in consequence, for your Lordship's consideration, that instructions be given to the Commissioners, authorizing them to detach one or more Commissioners, with power to act in making treaties or agreements with such Chiefs as lie beyond the immediate reach of the whole Commission, or could not be conveniently visited by them, such treaties or agreements being held subject to the sanction of the Commission; and the details of the proceedings of such Commissioners, when detached, to be embodied in the general report of the Commissioners to Her Majesty's Government.

It is stated in the first paragraph that the opinion of the gentleman whose name stands first on the Commission is to prevail, should any variance of opinion exist on the part of the Commissioners; but in the event of the absence of the First Commissioner, or of his return to England, under the 49th clause, no authority is given for the exercise of a similar control by any of the remaining Commissioners.

It would seem expedient for the proper understanding of my fellow Commissioners, in the event of my absence or retirement, as above, that they should know the manner in which doubtful points are, under such circumstances, to be determined—whether by a majority of voices, or by the decision of the person who will then remain at the head of the Commission. I would suggest that instructions to this effect be added to those we have been furnished with.

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I would further beg leave to suggest, for your Lordship's consideration, as conducive to the benefit of the service we are about to be engaged in, that powers should be given to fill up vacancies that may arise among the Commissioners, or those attached to the Commissioners, whether arising from death or otherwise.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. D. TROTTER, Captain.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
&c. &c &c.

No. 15.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord JOHN RUSSELL to Captain TROTTER, R.N.

Sir, Downing-street, 24th April, 1841.

No. 15. I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant, in which you call my attention to various questions in regard to which you are desirous that specific instructions should be furnished to the Commissioners of the Niger Expedition for their guidance.

I consider that all the questions to which you have adverted are of a nature to be left to the exercise of the discretion of the Commissioners, with the understanding, as is provided for in the first paragraph of my instructions of the 30th of January, that in the event of the Commissioners being unable to agree, the opinion of that gentleman is to prevail whose name shall stand first at the time in Her Majesty's Commission.

I regret to find, by the date of your letter, that instead of departing at the beginning of this month, the Expedition will hardly have left England by the end of it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Captain Trotter, R.N.,
&c. &c.

No. 16.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Captain TROTTER, R.N., to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

Her Majesty's Steam-vessel Albert,
My Lord, Portsmouth, 27th April, 1841.

No. 16. IN your Lordship's instructions, No. 4, to the Commissioners of the Niger Expedition, under date of the 30th January, you directed them, in the event of an opportunity presenting itself, to intimate to the King of Bonny that Her Majesty's Government are determined to withhold from him all marks of favour until they shall be assured that he has put a final stop to the export of slaves from his dominions.

I have subsequently had transmitted to me by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, for my information and guidance, a copy of a letter from the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and sundry enclosures, being copies of a correspondence which has recently passed between that department and Her Majesty's Treasury, "upon the subject of the agreements with the Chiefs of Bonny and of the Cameroons for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and containing the opinion of Viscount Palmerston upon the conditions of the agreement to be made with the Chiefs of Bonny."

One of the enclosures, dated Foreign Office, 31st March, 1841, addressed by Lord Leveson to the Secretary of Her Majesty's Treasury, conveys Viscount Palmerston's opinion that the presents in question ought to be sent according to stipulation, and discontinued only in future if the African Chiefs do not keep their engagements. A copy of this enclosure is herewith transmitted. I have, in consequence, to request your Lordship's directions as to whether the instructions referred to (directing the Commissioners to announce to the King of Bonny that Her Majesty's Government are determined, for the present, to withhold all marks of favour,) are to be considered as suspended by this communication.

I beg further to inform your Lordship, that in Mr. Backhouse's letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated Foreign Office, 8th April, 1841, being the first of the enclosures referred to, further reference is made to this subject. A copy of

this letter is likewise enclosed, and in reference thereto I beg to be informed if the Commissioners of the Niger Expedition are to consider it as containing instructions for their guidance in any treaty they may make with the Chiefs of the Bonny.

As I consider that the delivery of presents to the Chiefs, at stipulated periods, may in many cases be a measure well calculated to ensure a fulfilment of such treaties as may be entered into by the Commissioners of the Niger Expedition, I would strongly urge that they be empowered to add similar clauses to all treaties when circumstances, in their opinion, appear to render it advisable; and in case of this suggestion meeting with your Lordship's approval, I request to be further informed to what extent the Commissioners may consider themselves authorized to make such annual grants to Chiefs up the Niger, or elsewhere, as a condition for their giving up the Slave Trade. Such grants would, of course, be entered into by the Commissioners in those cases only where the conditions could readily be complied with by Her Majesty's Government, and the amount would, in each case, be apportioned to the peculiar circumstances.

In further reference to the treaty directed to be made with the Chiefs of Bonny, I beg to draw your Lordship's attention to another enclosure on the subject in the communication already alluded to from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a copy of which is likewise annexed, and to request to be informed whether, in the event of negotiations for the agreement, directed to be made by Lord Palmerston, having been already commenced by naval officers or other persons, before the arrival on the coast of the Niger Expedition, the parties negotiating are to proceed to bring them to a close, or if the final arrangements will devolve on the Commissioners; and how the Commissioners are to act if, after their arrival on the coast, they find that treaties have already been completed at Bonny, or in other places, under instructions from the Admiralty or Foreign Office.

If copies of any existing treaties with Chiefs on the West Coast of Africa could be furnished to the Commissioners, they might prove of essential convenience to them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. D. TROTTER, Captain.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No 16.

Sir, Foreign Office, 31st March, 1841.

Encl. in No. 16.

I HAVE laid before Viscount Palmerston your letter of the 13th instant, requesting the opinion of his Lordship, whether it would be proper to make the payment stipulated in the Treaty lately formed with the Kings of the Cameroons, without obtaining some better security than we possess at present, that the Slave Trade will be really abolished in the district subject to the jurisdiction of those Chiefs; and that the presents given with a view to effect the abolition of the Slave Trade will not be turned into a means of extending that infamous traffic: and I am in answer to request that you will state to the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury the opinion of Viscount Palmerston, that the presents in question ought to be sent according to stipulation; and should be discontinued in future if the African Chiefs do not keep their engagements.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) LEVESON.

The Secretary of Her Majesty's Treasury,
&c. &c. &c.

Sir, Foreign Office, 8th April, 1841.

WITH reference to previous correspondence respecting agreements with African Chiefs, for the suppression of Slave Trade, I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to transmit to you, to be laid before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, copies of correspondence which has recently passed between this Office and Her Majesty's Treasury, upon the subject of agreements with Chiefs of Bonny and of the Cameroons, and I am to request you will state to the Lords of the Admiralty the opinion of Lord Palmerston, that in the agreement purposed to be concluded with the King and Chiefs of Bonny, it will be better to specify the conditions to be entered into by both parties, and that those conditions should be, that the Slave Trade shall be totally put an end to within the dominions of the King of Bonny; that Great Britain will make for five years an annual gift to the King and Chiefs of Bonny of goods to the value of 2,000 dollars. That the first gift shall be made on the ratification of the agreement, on condition that from that time and for ever Slave Trade shall be totally put a stop to in the said dominions, and that no slaves shall be passed through or exported from those dominions, and that at each future time of making the gift there shall be furnished to Great Britain a

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document from the merchants frequenting the Bonny, certifying the fact that no Slave Trade has to their knowledge existed there during the preceding year, and if at any time whatever, either from the want of that document, or from any other circumstance, it shall appear that Slave Trade has been carried on through or from the Bonny, the presents will be discontinued, the Slave Trade will be put down by Great Britain by force; and the Chiefs of the Bonny will subject themselves to a severe act of displeasure on the part of Great Britain.

I am, &c.,

The Secretary of the Admiralty, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) J. BACKHOUSE.

Sir, Foreign Office, 8th April, 1841.

WITH reference to your letter of the 13th ultimo respecting the agreement which has been proposed to be made with the Chiefs of the Bonny for suppressing the Slave Trade in their country: and the agreement which has been actually concluded with the Chiefs of the Cameroons for the suppression of the Slave Trade in their's, I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to request you will state to the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, Lord Palmerston's opinion that it will be expedient that an agreement with Chiefs of the Bonny should be concluded according to the terms proposed in the communication from Captain Craigie, enclosed in Lord Leveson's letter of the 17th June, 1839, and that presents of goods should be made in the first instance according to stipulation, and should be discontinued in future, if the native Chiefs do not keep their engagements, and I am to transmit to you to be laid before the Lords of Her Majesty's Tteasury the accompanying copy of a letter, which in conformity with Lord Palmerston's directions I have addressed upon this subject to the Secretary of the Admiralty, and I am to add for the information of the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, that copies of this correspondence have been transmitted to the Colonial Department.

I am, &c.,

The Secretary of Her Majesty's Treasury, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) J. BACKHOUSE.

No. 17.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord JOHN RUSSELL to Captain TROTTER, R.N.

Sir, Downing-street, 29th April, 1841.

No. 17.

I HAVE had under my consideration your letter of the 27th instant, in which you call my attention to certain questions arising out of instructions which have been conveyed to you by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty in regard to agreements already entered into or to be entered into with the Chiefs of the Bonny River.

First, you inquire whether my instructions to the Commissioners of the Niger Expedition, No. 4, of the 30th of January last are to be considered as suspended by the subsequent instructions of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

In answer to that inquiry, I have to acquaint you that as the agreement with the Chiefs of the Bonny has been entered into in pursuance of directions from Viscount Palmerston and the Board of Admiralty, you should now conform to the instructions which you have received from the Lords Commissioners relating to the Chiefs of the Bonny, and that my instructions of the 30th of January are accordingly to be considered as suspended.

Secondly, you inquire whether the Commissioners of the Niger Expedition may consider themselves authorized to promise annual grants of presents to African Chiefs up the Niger, or elsewhere, on condition that they give up the Slave Trade.

On that subject I have to acquaint you in reply, that the promise of annual grants of presents to Chiefs up the Niger may be so difficult of execution, that I cannot authorize any such stipulation beforehand, which Her Majesty's Government may not be able hereafter to fulfil, thereby exposing this country to the risk of losing character and credit with the African Chiefs. In cases, however, where the conditions can be readily complied with, I leave to the Commissioners some latitude of discretion to depart from my general instructions to them on that head.

Thirdly, you inquire, with reference to the treaty to be entered into with the Chiefs of Bonny, how the Commissioners are to act, if negotiations should already have been entered on by naval officers, before the arrival of the Niger Expedition on the coast of Africa.

In answer to that question, I have to state that in the case so contemplated, the Commissioners must not interfere, unless they shall be asked to do so by the naval officer commanding on the station.

I am, &c.,

Captain Trotter, R.N., &c. &c. &c.

J. RUSSELL.

No. 18.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord JOHN RUSSELL to HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER.

Gentlemen, Downing-street, 29th April, 1841.

I TRANSMIT to you, herewith enclosed, a list of persons in the employment of the African Civilization Society, who, with my concurrence, have been instructed to send from Africa reports of their proceedings to the Society; and I have accordingly to desire that you will allow these persons to send home their communications to the Society, as opportunities may offer. It being, however, understood that they are not to be published either by the Society or by the writers until the publication of them shall have been expressly sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government. No. 18.

I have, &c.,

Her Majesty's Commissioners, (Signed) J. RUSSELL.
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 18.

NAMES of CIVILIANS accompanying the Niger Expedition, in connection with the African Civilization Society. Encl. in No. 18.

Dr. THEODORE VOGEL	Botanist.
Mr. CHARLES GOTTFRIED ROSCHER . .	Miner and mineralogist.
Dr. WILLIAM STANGER.	Geologist and explorer.
Mr. JOHN ANSELL	Collector and gardener.
Mr. LEWIS FRASER	Naturalist.
Mr. JAMES UWINS	Draughtsman.

No. 19.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Captain H. D. TROTTER to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

Her Majesty's Steam-vessel, Albert,
My Lord, Hamoaze, 12th May, 1841.

IN reference to that part of your letter of the 24th April, in which your Lordship regrets that instead of departing at the beginning of April, the expedition will hardly have left England by the end of it, I beg leave to inform your Lordship that the Soudan sailed from Woolwich on the 30th March, the day after your Lordship visited that ship and the Albert; and by a letter received yesterday from Commander Bird Allen, dated the 3rd May, from Lisbon, he had been obliged by the late southerly gales to put in there on the 2nd instant, after being nearly five weeks from Woolwich, the greater part of which time he was windbound here. No. 19.

The Albert was ready for sea when the Soudan left Woolwich, but it was considered desirable to wait for the Wilberforce, which vessel having been launched several weeks after the Albert, was in consequence later in being completed. By great exertions on the part of the officers and men, the Wilberforce was got ready and left Woolwich in company with the Albert on the 22nd April; but, owing to detentions on account of the weather, they did not arrive at this place until the 28th. Here we completed our stores, took in coals and our forty-feet galleys, and fitted the creosote pipes, which had followed us from Woolwich; and since the 1st of May we have been detained by strong gales from the south-west, which have hitherto rendered our departure impossible. To-day, however, for the first time, there is a prospect of fair weather, and we are at this moment getting up steam to proceed on our voyage, and with the present favourable appearances of the weather, we shall probably arrive at the Cape de Verds as soon as the Soudan.

Although the Expedition has been detained so long by an unusual prevalence of southerly winds, and other unavoidable circumstances upon which naval equipment must always depend, there is every reason to hope that it may arrive at the river Niger in the first week in July, which, as I informed your Lordship in conversation, was the period which, by the last account from Fernando Po, Mr. Becroft proposed to ascend the Niger, unless he received different orders from Mr. Jamieson,

RIVER NIGER.

We have gained some great advantage by the delay, for had we sailed sooner we must have gone without our creosote pipes altogether, and with our medicator incomplete, the heating apparatus which forms part of it not having been finished till the very day we left Woolwich.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER, Captain.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
&c. &c. &c.

(No. 5.) No. 20.

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

Her Majesty's Steam-vessel, Albert,
My Lord, Sierra Leone, 2nd July, 1841.

No. 20. WE have the honour to inform your Lordship that Her Majesty's steam-vessels, composing the Niger Expedition, have arrived at this port on their way to Cape Coast Castle. It was not intended that the Soudan should come here, but, having separated from the transports in squally weather, she was obliged to put in for a supply of fuel.

The steam-vessels having taken in coals and provisions, and the tender which was bought for the use of the Expedition having been equipped, we shall be able to proceed on our voyage to-day.

We have delivered to the acting governor of Sierra Leone the letter with which your Lordship charged us, and have explained to that gentleman and to Her Majesty's Commissioners of the Mixed Commission Court the objects of our Commission. They have shown themselves anxious in every way to forward the views of Her Majesty's Government for the promotion of the great objects in which we are engaged.

The acting governor finding that the intercourse between Timbo and this colony has been of late so much obstructed by predatory chiefs, that the traders in gold have been unable to make their accustomed visits to the coast, has resolved on sending persons to endeavour to re-establish the communication. His Honour will, at the same time, use his influence at Timbo to have a messenger sent on to Boussa in the hope of obtaining intelligence from the Expedition.

A sufficient number of interpreters and Kroomen, and other natives, have been engaged, there being no difficulty in obtaining volunteers from among those liberated Africans, who are natives of the countries bordering on the banks of the Niger, south of Boussa, most of whom appear desirous of revisiting their former homes.

We have not been able to obtain any information respecting the upper parts of the Niger, but from the accounts which we have received from various persons brought from Bornù, Nufi, Yarriba, Houssa, &c., we learn that the countries bordering on the middle and lower parts of that river, supply the western coast of Africa with slaves, and that a large proportion of them are sent overland from Rabba to the different parts in the Bight of Benin. We would, therefore, take the liberty of representing to your Lordship, that we consider a strict blockade of the parts in the Bight of Benin would have the effect of diminishing the demand for slaves, thus rendering the chiefs on the banks of the Niger more disposed to listen to our proposals for the abolition of the traffic.

On reaching this place we heard with much regret of the lamented death of Sir John Jeremie. The colony, however, at the present time, is unusually healthy, and we are thankful to say that there is not a case of fever in the whole Expedition.

We have, &c.,

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER,
WILLIAM ALLEN,
BIRD ALLEN,
W. COOK.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
&c. &c. &c.

(No. 6.) No. 21. RIVER NIGER.

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

Her Majesty's Steam-vessel, Albert,
Accra Roads, 4th August, 1841.

My Lord,

No. 21.

WE have the honour to inform your Lordship of our arrival at this place, on our way to the Niger; the vessels of the expedition having touched here for the purpose of completing provisions, fuel, &c., from the Harriot transport, and to embark some canoes for the use of the Expedition, which service being performed, we proceed this day direct for the entrance of the Nun.

On our way hither we called at Cape Coast Castle, and delivered your Lordship's letter to Mr. Maclean, the President of the Court of Magistrates, and explained to him the objects of our Commission, and obtained from him much valuable information respecting the present state and customs of the Chiefs in the interior.

In Despatch No. 5, dated the 2nd of July, 1841, we apprized your Lordship of the arrival and sailing of the Expedition from Sierra Leone; between that place and Cape Palmas the vessels encountered unlooked for contrary winds and adverse currents, which compelled the Albert to anchor off the river Sinou, in Liberia, to get a supply of fire-wood for the engines, and the Wilberforce to anchor off Bassa and Cape Palmas for the same purpose. Our passage down to this part of the coast has been, in consequence, very tedious.

A few cases of fever have occurred in the Expedition, chiefly among the coloured men, one of whom, we regret to say, died on board the Wilberforce on the 23rd ultimo; but the health of the officers and crews is now very satisfactory.

We have, &c.,

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER,
WILLIAM ALLEN,
BIRD ALLEN,
W. COOK.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
&c. &c. &c.

(No. 7.) No. 22.

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

Her Majesty's Steam-vessel, Albert,
Nun River, 18th August, 1841.

My Lord,

No. 22.

WE have the honour to inform your Lordship, that the Expedition has entered the Nun branch of the Niger in safety, and, having completed our arrangements and despatched the Harriot transport to Fernando Po, we shall be able to proceed up the river to-morrow. We have been detained here a few days to repair the rudders of the three vessels, the moveable parts of which had been injured at sea, the rise and fall of the tide affording facilities for doing so.

We regret to say, that since the date of our last communication, a man belonging to the Albert has died of fever, though not of an endemic character. There is one case of slight fever on board that vessel, which, in the opinion of the surgeon, is the first which has shown any evidence of endemic origin, and there is another of a similar kind on board the Wilberforce; both *men are West Indian negroes, who entered* on board the ships in England. We are happy to say that the symptoms in both cases are favourable, and that, with these exceptions, there is no sickness in the Expedition.

We have, &c.

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER,
WILLIAM ALLEN,
BIRD ALLEN,
W. COOK.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
&c. &c. &c.

RIVER NIGER.

No. 23.

(No. 8.)

No. 23.

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

Her Majesty's Steam Vessel Albert, in the River Niger,
30th August, 1841.

My Lord,

WE have the honour to inform your Lordship that on the 26th of August the steam-vessels composing the Niger Expedition safely reached Ibu (or more properly Abòh, which we find is the correct name of the town), belonging to Obi Ossaï, a powerful Chief, who is sovereign of that portion of the Eboe or Ibu country situated on the banks of the Niger. With this Chief we have succeeded in concluding a treaty (a copy of which we beg to transmit herewith), sincerely hoping it may receive the sanction of Her Majesty's Government.

Captain William Allen and Mr. Cook having reached Aboh in the Wilberforce on the 25th ult., the day before the Albert and Soudan, immediately requested an interview with Obi, who came on board early the following morning, and perfectly remembered Captain William Allen, who had visited him on a former occasion. This circumstance, we have no doubt, tended materially to bring about the confidence and good feeling which Obi manifested towards the Commissioners at every subsequent interview. In order to gain time, Captain Allen and Mr. Cook at once explained the principal objects of the Expedition to the King, who readily promised to go the next morning on board the Albert, then in sight.

Early on the 27th the Chief arrived in due state, accompanied by several of his family and headmen. The objects of our mission, as well as each article of the treaty were then fully explained to him by an intelligent interpreter, brought with us from Sierra Leone; and we were exceedingly pleased with the intelligence, judgment, and apparent sincerity of Obi's remarks. His ready acquiescence was usually expressed by the emphatic use of the word "makka" (it is good) at the end of each sentence, and his gratification by the frequent snapping of his fingers, while the momentary opposition elicited by some of the Articles only tended to show us how clearly he understood the object of the treaty.

Obi having become wearied by the length of the conference, retired on shore for the evening, but on the following morning the treaty was duly signed on board the Albert by the Chief, and was attested by his eldest son and two of his brothers. Presents to about 49*l.* in value were then given to him and his chief men.

Some of the officers, with the interpreters, accompanied Obi on shore on the first evening, and were present at an assemblage of the headmen and principal inhabitants of the town when the Chief fully explained the object of our visit and the nature of the agreement he was about to make for the abolition of the Slave Trade. This information was received with evident satisfaction by all who heard it.

The officers found the paths to be so flooded, from the high state of the river, as to be nearly impassable. This circumstance, added to the advanced state of the season, and our desire to proceed as rapidly as possible to the upper parts of the river, determined us not to wait to witness any further promulgation of the treaty; we therefore continued our voyage as soon as Obi had left the Albert, being impressed with the conviction that he would fulfil his promise to make known the law of abolition as quickly as possible through the towns and villages under his jurisdiction.

The town of Abòh is situated near the apex of the Delta, and consequently commands the whole traffic between it and the sea coast; and as Obi is principal merchant as well as sovereign of the country, the due performance of the treaty by this Chief will be a very great obstacle to the transmission of slaves for sale down this river. We may here state our opinion, that the readiness with which the treaty was concluded was mainly attributable to the severe check which the cruel traffic in human beings has sustained by the strict naval blockade of the principal mouths of this river, which has been so effectually maintained for some months past under the judicious arrangements of Captain Tucker, of Her Majesty's ship Iris, the senior officer in command of the West African squadron.

By our last despatch your Lordship will have perceived that we entered the Niger by the Nun Branch, and our hasty ascent through the Delta did not afford the opportunity of seeking for a more convenient channel.

For the first twelve miles we observed nothing but mangroves, interspersed with low palm oil trees and ferns; after which we observed a few spots cultivated

with plantains, succeeded by villages on the immediate banks of the river. On our first approach, the natives were evidently alarmed, and men only made their appearance, armed with knives, spears, or guns; but when we stopped and waived to invite them on board, they laid aside their arms, and frequently came alongside to exchange goats, fowls, or yams for handkerchiefs or anything we would give them.

At many of the villages we saw canoes with traders in palm oil from Brass and Bonny, who appear to have the exclusive trade in the Ejòh country, between those places and Abòh. This gave evidence of the existence of some legitimate traffic, while a few examples of industry, such as the manufacture of earthen pots and canoes, in addition to the cultivation of the soil, gave hopes that, with proper encouragement, there would be no deficiency of labourers.

We regret that the advanced period of the season, and our rapid progress, did not admit of our obtaining satisfactory information relative to the social or moral condition of the inhabitants; nor could we, for the same reasons, make any reasonable estimate of the extent of the population.

In conclusion, we would take leave to dwell on two points of primary importance, as conducive to the great cause of the abolition of the Slave Trade, and which we submit as worthy of the immediate attention of Her Majesty's Government and all well-wishers to African civilization. We allude to the speedy promotion of innocent and legitimate trade, and to a supply of religious teachers for such of the principal towns on the Niger as may be ready to receive them.

On the first point, we consider it a fact worthy of remark, that the substance of Obi's frequent interruptions was, that if he abolished the Slave Trade, his people must have some occupation by which to obtain subsistence, and that he therefore wished plenty of ships to be sent to trade with him; and although we endeavoured to impress upon his mind that trade can only be expected to flow in as the natural effect of demand and supply, we found it difficult for an African King, himself the chief merchant of his territory, to conceive that, to a sovereign so powerful as he believes our gracious Queen to be, there can be any difficulty in sending as many ships as she pleases to the waters of Abòh. The Slave Trade has so long been the chief means of obtaining European goods, which have become almost necessaries to these people, that if a more legitimate channel of supply be not speedily found, we almost fear their recently formed good intentions will be but of short duration.

On the second point, it is a source of much gratification to us to be able to record that Obi not only readily entered into that part of the treaty relative to the teaching of Christianity, but showed his sincerity by a spontaneous request that we would allow the interpreter to remain and teach his people the principles of our religion; and this he did so earnestly that, though we could not dispense at the time with the man's services, we have determined to send him back to Aboh the first convenient opportunity.

We have, &c.

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER.
WILLIAM ALLEN.
BIRD ALLEN.
W. COOK.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 23.

A TREATY between the Queen of Great Britain, and Obi Osaï, Chief of Abòh (Eboe or Ibu) Encl. in No. 23.

THERE shall be peace and friendship between the people of Great Britain and the people of Abòh, and the Slave Trade shall be put down for ever in the Abòh country, and the people of Great Britain and the people of Abòh shall trade together innocently, justly, kindly, and usefully; and Captain Henry Dundas Trotter, Commander William Allen, Commander Bird Allen, and William Cook, Esq., Commissioners on the part of the Queen of Great Britain and Obi Osaï on his own part, and that of his people as the Chief of the Abòh country, do make the following Agreement for these purposes.

1. The Slave Trade shall be utterly abolished in the Abòh country, and from the signing of this Agreement no person whatever shall be removed out of the country for the purpose of being treated or dealt with as slaves; nor shall any persons whatever be allowed to be brought through the country or any part thereof for the putpose of being treated or dealt with as slaves by way of exportation, or otherwise; nor shall any persons whatever be imported into the

RIVER NIGER.

country for the purpose of being dealt with as slaves, and no subject of the Abòh country shall be in any way concerned in the exporting or importing slaves, or carrying on the Slave Trade, either within or without the limits of the country. The Chief promises to inflict reasonable punishment on all his subjects who may break this law.

2. The officers of the Queen of Great Britain may seize every vessel or boat of Abòh found anywhere carrying on the trade in slaves, and may also seize every vessel or boat of other nations with whom a similar agreement has been made, found carrying on the trade in slaves in the waters belonging to the Chief of Abòh: upon such seizure, and after regular condemnation, according to the provisions of this agreement, the slaves shall be made free, and the vessels or boats shall be destroyed.

3. That in all cases of the seizure of vessels and boats, with the slaves on board, under the provisions of this Agreement, the said Commissioners, or those of them who may be present, and in their absence the commissioned or commanding officer on board the British vessel making the seizure, or any agent authorized for that purpose, shall in presence of the Chief or headman appointed by him, make due examination and inquiry into the case, and shall condemn the said vessel or boat with the slaves on board, if satisfied that the provisions of this Agreement have been thus contravened; or otherwise acquit and restore the same.

4. That from and after the signing of this Agreement, no person whatever coming into the country shall be reduced into slavery, or treated or used as slaves. All white persons whatever, and all British subjects, of whatever colour, at present detained in slavery, shall be immediately set free.

5. British people may freely come into the Abòh country, and may stay in it, or pass through it: and they shall be treated as friends while in it, and they may leave the country with their property when they please.

6. Christians, of whatever nation or country peaceably conducting themselves in the dominions of the Chief of Abòh shall be left in the free enjoyment and exercise of the Christian religion, and shall not be hindered or molested in their endeavours to teach the same to all persons whatever willing and desirous to be taught; nor shall any subject of Abòh, who may embrace the Christian faith, be on that account, or on account of the teaching or exercise thereof, molested or troubled in any manner whatsoever.

7. British people may always trade freely with the people of Abòh in every article which they may wish to sell, and neither the British people nor the people of Abòh shall ever be forced to buy or sell any article, nor shall they be prevented from buying or selling any article with whomsoever they please; and they shall not be compelled to employ an agent, and the customs and dues taken by the Chief of Abòh on British goods sold in the Abòh country shall in no case be more altogether than one twentieth part of the goods so imported, or their ascertained value, and there shall be no duty, toll, or custom levied on goods exported.

8. The paths shall be kept open through the Abòh country to other countries, so that British traders may carry goods of all kinds through the Abòh country to sell them elsewhere; and the traders of other countries may bring their goods through the Abòh country to trade with the British people.

9. British people may buy and sell, or hire lands and houses in the Abòh country; and their houses shall not be entered without their consent, nor shall their goods be seized, nor their persons touched; and if British people are wronged or ill-treated by the people of Abòh, the Chief of Abòh shall punish those doing such wrong.

10. But the British people must not break the laws of the Abòh country; and when they are accused of breaking the laws, the Chief may detain the persons charged with committing any grievous crime in safe custody, taking care that he be treated with humanity; and shall send a true account of the matter to the nearest place where there is a British force; and the commander of such British force shall send for the British person, who shall be tried according to British law, and shall be punished, if found guilty, and a report of such punishment shall be forwarded to the Chief for his satisfaction.

11. If the Abòh people should take away the property of a British person, or should not pay their just debts to a British person, the Chief of Abòh shall do all he can to make the Abòh people restore the property and pay the debt; and if British persons should take away the property of the Abòh people, or shall not pay their just debts to the Abòh people, he shall be subject to the laws of the country for the recovery of the same; provided always that no injury be done to his person. The Chief of Abòh shall make known the fact to the commander of the British force nearest to the Abòh country, or to the resident agent, if there is one; and the British commander or agent, whichever it may be, shall do all he can to make the British persons restore the property, and pay the debt.

12. The Queen of Great Britain may appoint an agent to visit Abòh, or to reside there, in order to watch over the interests of the British people; and to see that this agreement is fulfilled; and such agent shall always receive honour and protection in the Abòh country; and the Abòh chief shall pay attention to what the agent says, and the person and property of the agent shall be sacred.

13. It is understood that all British vessels or boats are at liberty to navigate the river Niger, and its branches and tributaries, without the payment of any duties, tolls, or customs whatsoever. The Chief of Abòh promises to use his utmost endeavour to facilitate the conveyance of messengers and despatches to or from British people.

14. The power of sanctioning or modifying this treaty is expressly reserved to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain.

15. Any infringement of this treaty will subject the Chief of Abòh to the severe displeasure of the Queen of Great Britain, and the loss of the duties herein stipulated for.

16. The Chief of Abòh shall within 48 hours of the date of this agreement make a law for carrying the whole of it into effect, and shall proclaim that law; and the Chief of Abòh shall put that law in force from that time for ever.

17. The Queen of Great Britain, out of friendship for the Chief of Abòh, and because the Chief of Abòh has made this Agreement, gives him the following articles:—

1 ornamented velvet cap.
1 double barrelled gun, German silver mounted, flint lock.
1 pair of pistols, German silver mounted, flint lock.
1 gilt mounted sabre.
6 yards of cotton velvet.
1 piece of Maddappolan.
2 pieces of printed Manchester goods.
½ piece of caricature handkerchiefs.
5 yards of superfine scarlet cloth.
5 yards of superfine blue cloth.
36 bead necklaces of sorts.
100 flints.
1 case, containing razors, knife, and scissors.
32 small looking-glasses.
1 large lustring umbrella.
1 telescope.
1 sergeant-major's dress complete.
4 red caps.
4 red jackets, baize.
4 shirts.
4 black jacks.
1½ piece of romal handkerchiefs.
1 pewter basin.
4 brass bracelets (bangles).
1 brass snuff box.
2 dozen gilt buttons.
6 large pewter spoons.
6 small pewter spoons.
2 brass lamps.
1 padlock.
6 pocket knives.
1 saw.
2 pieces of Pondicherry.
1 piece of Naganapots.
2 pieces of brawls.
1 piece of Madras handkerchiefs.
1 piece of brown shirting.
2 pieces of Bejutepant.
1 piece of cotton Bandanas.
1 piece of Niccarree.
1 piece of Chillo.
6 tin horns.
1 Arabic Bible.
1 oil press.

And the Chief of Abòh hereby acknowledges he has received those articles.

And so we, Captain Henry Dundas Trotter, Commander William Allen, Commander Bird Allen, William Cook, Esq., and Obi Osaï, Chief of Abòh, have made this agreement, and have signed it on board Her Majesty's steam-vessel Albert, off Abòh, this twenty-eighth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one; and this Agreement shall stand for ever.

(Signed) H. D. Trotter, Commissioner.
William Allen, Commissioner.
Bird Allen, Commissioner.
W. Cook, Commissioner.

Obi Osaï, his + mark, } Chief of the Abòh Country.

Witnesses,
J. O. M'William, M.D. Surgeon,
James Frederic Schön, Missionary,
William Bowden, Secretary.

Witnesses,
Aribunda, his + mark, } King Obi's Brothers,
Ajeh, his + mark, } King Obi's Brothers,
Chikuma, his + mark, } King Obi's eldest Son.

Additional Article.

The Chief of Abòh declares that no human beings are sacrificed on account of religious or other ceremonies or customs in the Abòh country, and hereby stipulates that he will prevent the introduction of such barbarous and inhuman customs and ceremonies into his country.

And so we, Captain Henry Dundas Trotter, Commander William Allen, Commander Bird Allen, William Cook, Esquire, and Obi Osaï, Chief of Abòh, have made this Agreement, and have signed it on board Her Majesty's steam-vessel, Albert, off Abòh, this twenty-eighth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, and this Agreement shall stand for ever.

(Signed) H. D. Trotter, Commissioner.
William Allen, Commissioner.
Bird Allen, Commissioner.
W. Cook, Commissioner.

Obi Osaï, his + mark. } Chief o fthe Abòh Country.

Witnesses,
J. O. M'William, M.D., Surgeon.
James Frederick Schön, Missionary.
William Bowden, Secretary.

Witnesses,
Aribunda, his + mark. } King Obi's Brothers.
Ajeh, his + mark. } King Obi's Brothers.
Chikuma, his + mark. } King Obi's eldest Son.

RIVER NIGER.

(No. 9.) No. 24.

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

Her Majesty's Steam-vessel, Albert, in the river Niger,
My Lord, 30th August, 1841.

No. 24. WE beg to inform your Lordship, that in our conference with Obi, the Chief of Abòh, held on the 27th of August, 1841, we intimated to him that in return for the permission which he had granted for British agents and others to reside in his territory, he was at liberty, if he thought proper, to send people from Abòh to England, upon which he told us that he had already sent two of his people on board the Quorra steamer, on her passage down the river, and had never heard of them since; how could he, therefore, send his sons to England. We replied, that we would inquire into the circumstances of the case; and, as Mr. M'Gregor Laird, who we are informed had charge of the Quorra at the time alluded to is now in England, we beg to submit King Obi's remarks for your Lordship's consideration, as we consider it desirable to be able, at the earliest opportunity, to explain to that Chief what has become of his subjects, in case his statement should be found to be correct.

We have, &c.

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER,
WILLIAM ALLEN,
BIRD ALLEN,
W. COOK.
} Commissioners.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
&c. &c. &c.

(No. 2.) No. 25.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord STANLEY to HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION of the NIGER.

Gentlemen, Downing-street, 8th January, 1842.

No. 25. I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 9, of the 30th of August last, relative to two persons, subjects of the King of Abòh or Eboe, whom that Chief had, in the year 1833, permitted to follow Mr. Macgregor Laird, in his trading excursion up the river Niger.

I concur with you in the opinion that it is very desirable that you should be enabled to state to Obi what has become of the individuals in question; and for that purpose, I transmit to you enclosed, a copy of a letter, which has been received from Mr. M. Laird, respecting them. If the Chief should manifest a desire for further information, you will of course make inquiries at Sierra Leone, and Fernando Po.

I have, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY.

Her Majesty's Commissioners,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 25.

Encl. in No. 25. Sir, 15, Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate-street, 18th December, 1841.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, transmitting me by desire of Lord Stanley, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioners for conducting the Expedition to the Niger, relative to two subjects of His Majesty King Obie, stated to have been sent on board the Quorra steam vessel, when under my command.

In reply, I have the honour to state for the information of his Lordship, that on the 10th July, 1833, being then at anchor in the river Niger, about 60 miles above the town of Eboe, I received on board four native boys from the late Mr. Richard Lander, (who had borrowed them from King Obie, to assist the crew of the row boat in which he was ascending the river) for a passage to Eboe.

On my arrival at Eboe, on the 10th August, two of these boys expressed a great desire to remain on board, and on my visiting King Obie, I asked for them; they were readily given, and accompanied me to Fernando Po; one of them I left there, the other I brought to this country, taught him to read, and kept him for two years or more as my servant. His health not agreeing with the climate, I paid his passage to Fernando Po, in the Golden Spring,

Captain Irving. As he proved useful on board that vessel, he was kept, and made one or two voyages as steward, he then entered the service of Mr. Oldfield, and I believe is now with that gentleman at Sierra Leone, and is known by the name of "Snowball."

Mr. Oldfield, who resided some years at Fernando Po, informed me that the other lad was comfortably settled there, I forget under what name.

As these lads were released from a most cruel and debasing slavery, it is probable they will prefer remaining in their present position, to returning to their native country, and I beg to express my hope that they may be allowed to do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) MACGREGOR LAIRD.

James Stephen, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

(No. 10) No. 26.

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER, to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

Her Majesty's Steam Vessel, Albert, in the River Niger,
My Lord, 8th September, 1841.

WE have the honour to transmit to your Lordship, the duplicate of a Treaty concluded at Iddah, on the 6th instant, with the Attàh (king or sovereign) of the Èggarah country. This document was signed with all due formality in the presence, and with the full concurrence of his headmen, and the principal people of the town.

This Chief's territories are said to extend along the river as far as the Abòh country on the south, and to Nufi country on the north; but we have not as yet been able to ascertain the precise limits.

In the portion of the river between the dominions of the Chief of Abòh, and the confluence of the Niger and the Chadda, there are two principal markets, Oniàh, erroneously written Kiri on Captain Allen's chart, and Kiri, or Ikiri, misnamed Bokwèh; between these the inhabitants of the intermediate towns and villages carry on the entire trade, under the control of the Chief of Èggarrah, himself a great trader, and without whose knowledge no mercantile transaction can be entered into. We may, therefore, reasonably expect that the Slave Trade down the river will receive an effectual check by his adherence to this Treaty.

Owing to the absolute necessity of making as rapid a progress into the interior as possible, and to various casual circumstances, we have as yet had little opportunity of gaining any information as to the religious, moral, or social state of the inhabitants in the parts of the river which we have passed, but we were able to ascertain that human sacrifices take place at Iddah on the death of the Chief, and having reason to believe from circumstances attending our inquiries, that an Article on this subject might be safely proposed, we have great pleasure in being enabled to state that we found no hesitation on the Attàh's part, to agree to the additional stipulation for the entire abolition of this barbarous practice.

The success we had previously met with at Abòh on this point, was not remarkable, since the Chief denied the existence of the practice. At Iddah, however, its regular recurrence was acknowledged, and as the influence of the Attàh is of wide extent, not only on the banks of the Niger, but over considerable inland districts, we hope that his example may have some effect on the surrounding tribes.

Your Lordship will perceive that it is stipulated in an Additional Article appended to the Treaty, that we have permission to purchase for Her Majesty, any land which we may consider suitable for the erection of forts. Our proposition to establish ourselves in their country was received with marked approbation by the Chief and his headmen, who promptly offered to give land in whatever quantity and position we might find convenient for the purpose.

When on this subject, the Attàh evinced a desire to cede to the Queen the sovereignty as well as the proprietorship of any land we might purchase, doubtless being anxious to interpose a powerful ally between the Falatahs and his once populous, but now abandoned town of Adda Kuddu, which they had frequently destroyed; while on our part we considered that much valuable time might be saved by accepting, conditionally, his offer, inasmuch as we had then an opportunity of carrying up accredited agents to define the boundaries, and make over the land; and finally, we thought it highly conducive to the views of Her Majesty's Government, to seize this fair occasion of forming a nucleus of civilization, in a beautiful

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but almost deserted territory, to which we might easily invite a fugitive population to return and live in freedom under our laws.

It gives us great pleasure to inform your Lordship, that the Chief of Èggarah, as we had previously experienced in our interview with the King of Abòh, expressed a wish that one of our interpreters might be left at Iddah for the instruction of himself and people, but we regret that circumstances did not permit us to comply with this request.

We cannot, however, conclude this despatch, without mentioning our belief to your Lordship, that Christian missionaries and teachers may be safely and advantageously introduced into this part of Africa, a measure which, by the blessing of Almighty God, would tend effectually, in our opinion, to enlighten this unhappy country, and to put an end for ever to the abominable Slave Trade.

We have, &c.

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER.
WILLIAM ALLEN.
BIRD ALLEN.
W. COOK.
} Commissioners.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 26.

Encl. in No. 26.

A TREATY between the Queen of Great Britain, and Òchejih, the Attàh of the Èggarah Country.

THERE shall be peace and friendship between the people of Great Britain and the people of Èggarah, and the Slave Trade shall be put down for ever in the Èggarah country, and the people of Great Britain and the people of Èggarah shall trade together innocently, justly, kindly, and usefully; and Captain Henry Dundas Trotter, Commander William Allen, Commander Bird Allen, and William Cook, Esq., Commissioners on the part of the Queen of Great Britain, and Òchejih, the Attàh of Èggarah, on his own part and that of his people, do make the following Agreement for these purposes:—

1. The Slave Trade shall be utterly abolished in the Èggarah country; and from the signing of this agreement no persons whatever shall be removed out of the country for the purpose of being treated or dealt with as slaves; nor shall any persons whatever be allowed to be brought through the country, or any part thereof, for the purpose of being treated or dealt with as slaves, by way of exportation or otherwise; nor shall any persons whatever be imported into the country for the purpose of being dealt with as slaves, and no subject of the Èggarah country shall be in any way concerned in the exporting or importing slaves, or carrying on the Slave Trade either within or without the limits of the country. The Chief promises to inflict reasonable punishment on all his subjects who may break this law.

2. The officers of the Queen of Great Britain may seize every vessel or boat of Èggarah found anywhere carrying on the trade in slaves, and may also seize every vessel or boat of other nations, with whom a similar agreement has been made, found carrying on the trade in slaves in the waters belonging to the Chief of Èggarah. Upon such seizure, and after regular condemnation, according to the provisions of this Agreement, the slaves shall be made free, and the vessels or boats shall be destroyed.

3. That in all cases of the seizure of vessels and boats with the slaves on board, under the provisions of this Agreement, the said Commissioners, or those of them who may be present, and, in their absence, the commissioned or commanding officer on board the British vessel making the seizure, or any agent authorized for that purpose, shall, in presence of the Chief or headman appointed by him, make due examination and inquiry into the case, and shall condemn the said vessel or boat with the slaves on board, if satisfied that the provisions of this Agreement have been thus contravened, or otherwise acquit and restore the same.

4. That from and after the signing of this Agreement no person whatever coming into the country shall be reduced into slavery, or treated or used as slaves. All white persons whatever, and all British subjects of whatever colour, at present detained in slavery, shall be immediately set free.

5. British people may freely come into the Èggarah country, and may stay in it, or pass through it, and they shall be treated as friends while in it, and they may leave the country with their property when they please.

6. Christians, of whatever nation or country, peaceably conducting themselves in the dominions of the Chief of Èggarah, shall be left in the free enjoyment and exercise of the Christian religion, and shall not be hindered or molested in their endeavours to teach the same to all persons whatever willing and desirous to be taught; nor shall any subject of Èggarah who may embrace the Christian faith be on that account, or on account of the teaching or exercise thereof, molested or troubled in any manner whatsoever.

7. British people may always trade freely with the people of Èggarah in every article which they may wish to buy or sell; and neither the British people nor the people of Èggarah shall ever be forced to buy or sell any article, nor shall they be prevented from buying or selling

any article, with whomsoever they please, and they shall not be compelled to employ an agent; and the customs and dues taken by the Chief of Èggarah on British goods sold in the Èggarah country shall in no case be more altogether than one-twentieth part of the goods so imported, or their ascertained value; and there shall be no duty, toll, or custom levied on goods exported.

8. The paths shall be kept open through the Èggarah country to other countries, so that British traders may carry goods of all kinds through the Èggarah country to sell them elsewhere; and the traders of other countries may bring their goods through the Èggarah country to trade with the British people.

9. British people may buy and sell or hire lands and houses in the Èggarah country, and their houses shall not be entered without their consent, nor shall their goods be seized nor their persons touched; and if British people are wronged or ill-treated by the people of Èggarah, the Chief of Èggarah shall punish those doing such wrong.

10. But British people must not break the laws of the Èggarah country; and when they are accused of breaking the laws, the Chief may detain the persons charged with committing any grievous crime in safe custody, taking care that he be treated with humanity, and shall send a true account of the matter to the nearest place where there is a British force, or authorized agent, and the commander of such British force, or authorized agent, shall send for the British person, who shall be tried according to British law, and shall be punished if found guilty, and a report of such punishment shall be forwarded to the Chief for his satisfaction.

11. If the Èggarah people should take away the property of a British person, or should not pay their just debts to a British person, the Chief of Èggarah shall do all he can to make the Èggarah people restore the property, and pay the debt; and if British persons should take away the property of the Èggarah people, or shall not pay their just debts to the Èggarah people, he shall be subject to the laws of the country for the recovery of the same, provided always that no injury be done to his person. The Chief of Èggarah shall make known the fact to the commander of the British force nearest to the Èggarah country, or to the resident agent, if there is one, and the British commander or agent, whichever it may be, shall do all he can to make the British persons restore the property and pay the debt.

12. The Queen of Great Britain may appoint an agent to visit Èggarah, or to reside there, in order to watch over the interests of the British people, and to see that this Agreement is fulfilled; and such agent shall always receive honour and protection in the Èggarah country, and the Èggarah Chief shall pay attention to what the agent says, and the person and property of the agent shall be sacred.

13. It is understood that all British vessels or boats are at liberty to navigate the river Niger, and its branches and tributaries, without the payment of any duties, tolls, or customs whatsoever. The Chief of Èggarah promises to use his utmost endeavours to facilitate the conveyance of messengers and despatches to or from British people.

14. The power of sanctioning or modifying this Treaty is expressly reserved to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain.

15. Any infringement of this Treaty will subject the Chief of Èggarah to the severe displeasure of the Queen of Great Britain, and the loss of the duties herein stipulated for.

16. The Chief of Èggarah shall, within forty-eight hours of the date of this Agreement, make a law for carrying the whole of it into effect, and shall proclaim that law, and the Chief of Èggarah shall put that law in force from that time for ever.

17. The Queen of Great Britain, out of friendship for the Chief of Èggarah, and because the Chief of Èggarah has made this Agreement, gives him the following presents:—

1 double-barrelled gun.
1 pair of ornamented pistols.
1 gilt sabre.
1 case containing scissors, knife, and razor.
12 hatchets.
2 handsaws.
12 hoes.
1 silk velvet tobe.
1 printed muslin tobe.
1 velvet cap.
1 pair of silk trousers.
1 silk waistcoat.
10 yards of crimson silk.
10 yards of merino.
5 yards of scarlet cloth.
5 yards of blue cloth.
2 pieces of printed cotton.
4 strings of beads.
2 cut garnet necklaces.
2 pairs of bracelets.
2 bangles.
1 piece of shirting.
1 piece of madapollan.
1 piece of baft.
1 pair of boots.
1 pair of slippers.
1 large looking-glass.
12 small looking-glasses.
1 elephant gun.
1 drum.
1 tambourine.
1 large silk umbrella.
1 piece of Turkey red twill,
2 pieces of handkerchiefs.
1 telescope.
12 padlocks.
2 lamps.
12 snuff-boxes.
12 coronation medals.
12 nuptial medals.
1 piece of muslin gold and mull.
5 ounces of real coral.
1 quire of writing paper.
12 spectacles.
2 pairs of earrings.
1 oil press.

And the Chief of Èggarah hereby acknowleges he has received these articles.

And so we, Captain Henry Dundas Trotter, Commander William Allen, Commander

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Bird Allen, and William Cook, Esquire, on behalf of the Queen of Great Britain, and Ochejih, the Attàh of Èggarah, have made this Agreement, and have signed it in triplicate at Iddah, in the presence of Almighty God, this sixth day of September, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand eight hundred and forty-one; and this Agreement shall stand for ever.

(Signed) H. D. Trotter, First Commissioner.
William Allen, Second Commissioner.
Bird Allen, Third Commissioner.
W. Cook, Fourth Commissioner.

Signed in the presence, and with the authority of Ochejih, Attàh of Èggarah, by the Judge of Iddah, it being contrary to custom for the Attàh to sign any document.

Lobo, his + mark. } Chief Judge of Iddah.

Witnesses,
Henry Cooke Harston, Lieutenant of Her Majesty's steamer Wilberforce.
William Stanger, M.D., Geologist.
James Frederick Schön, Missionary.

William Bowden, Secretary.

Witnesses,

Hackah, his + mark. } Second Judge.
Gibbereen, his + mark. } Malam.

Additional Articles to the Treaty, made between the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Ochejih the Attàh of Èggarah, the sixth day of September, One thousand eight hundred and forty-one.

1. That from the signing of this Agreement no human being whatever shall be sacrificed on account of religious or other ceremonies or customs in the Èggarah country.

2. The Chief of Èggarah sells, and from this time forward makes over to the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, entirely and for ever, all such land and everything in and upon it, as Her Majesty's Commissioners may select, it being understood that the land shall consist of at least two portions, one of which shall be situated near or in the neighbourhood of the confluence of the rivers Niger and Tchadda, and the other on an Island between Iddah and such place aforesaid; the boundaries thereof to be marked out by the agents sent by the Chief of Èggarah for that purpose, who shall be fully authorized by the Chief of Èggarah to make over and deliver the said land to Her Majesty's Commissioners in the same manner as if the Chief of Èggarah were himself present. And the British people may erect forts wherever they please upon the same, the said land to be held by the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland free of all claims to future tribute, toll, or taxation of any kind whatever; in consideration of which seven hundred thousand cowries, or goods to that amount, will be given to the Chief of Èggarah, one-fifth part of which shall be paid to the agent as security for the purchase as soon as the said land shall be delivered over to the said Commissioners. And the Queen of Great Britain shall, after her people have had possession of the said land twelve months, in case they wish to keep the same, pay to the Attàh of Èggarah the remainder of the price above stated, either at once or in annual instalments not exceeding five, as most convenient to the Queen; and when the land according to this Agreement has been delivered over to the British people, the same shall remain the property of the Queen of Great Britain to all intents and purposes for ever.

3. It is also agreed and hereby declared that the Queen of Great Britain, her heirs or successors have the power of assuming sovereignty over the land to be purchased according to the last Article; and it is hereby stipulated that such sovereignty shall commence on the part of Great Britain from the day on which the Queen, her heirs or successors may determine to accept it, provided that it shall be so accepted within five years from the date hereof.

The present Additional Articles shall have the same force and effect as if they were inserted word for word in the Treaty signed at Iddah this sixth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one.

Done at Iddah this 6th of September, 1841.

(Signed) H. D. Trotter, First Commissioner.
William Allen, Second Commissioner,
Bird Allen, Third Commissioner,
W. Cook, Fourth Commissioner.

Signed in the presence, and with the authority of Ochejir, Attàh of Èggarah, by the Judge of Iddah, it being contrary to custom for the Attàh to sign any document.

Lobo his + mark. } Chief Judge of Iddah.

Witnesses,
Henry Cooke Harston, Lieutenant of Her Majesty's steamer Wilberforce.
William Stanger, M. D., Geologist,
James Frederick Schön, Missionary.

William Bowden, Secretary.

Witnesses,

Hackah his + mark. } Second Judge.
Gibbereen his + mark. } Malam.

(No. 11.) No. 27.

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

Her Majesty's Steam-vessel Albert, confluence of the rivers Niger and Chadda, 16th September, 1841.

My Lord,

OUR last Despatch, No. 10, dated Iddah, September 8th, 1841, will have apprised your Lordship of the proceedings of the Commission up to that period. Our negotiations at Iddah having terminated, the Expedition sailed thence on the 8th instant, and arrived at Addah Kuddu on the 10th instant, where we found duly authorized agents from the Attàh of Èggarah ready to define the boundaries of any land which we might require for Her Majesty and to make over the same conditionally, in the manner stipulated for in our Treaty of the 6th instant. No. 27.

We have now the honour of enclosing to your Lordship the Deed of Cession of the land which we have purchased on behalf of Her Majesty. It is situated on the right bank of the river, and has a commanding position suitable for the erection of a fort at either extremity; that to the north is the table mountain, called Pattèh, 1,200 feet above the level of the river, and near the southern extremity there is a hill on Beaufort Island which commands the united stream of the Niger and Chadda, a position of great importance from its vicinity to the great slave market held at Kiri. This district, extending 16 miles along the river, and about four miles in width, contains several towns and villages, but being exposed to the predatory incursions of the Falatahs, a large portion of it, including the market town of Addah Kuddu, is now totally abandoned.

In providing for the establishment of forts by Great Britain in a district subject to the invasion of a neighbouring tribe, your Lordship must remember that the Falatahs the invading party, are only formidable when compared with the docile, inoffensive race they oppress; the mere occupation of one or two stations by a few British subjects would have the effect of establishing confidence among the natives, who, once assured of the protecting care of Great Britain, would be easily induced to build up their former habitations, and thus furnish a useful population and have a beneficial effect on the surrounding tribes.

The consideration of these circumstances, added to the fear of delay and difficulty which we might hereafter experience in procuring accredited agents to define and make over the required territory, determined us to secure at once the possession of a district so well calculated to carry out the beneficent objects of Her Majesty.

It is impossible at this time to send home plans or drawings of the land. We can only refer your Lordship to Captain William Allen's Chart of the Niger, where the boundaries can be easily traced according to the description mentioned in the Deed of Cession, neither can we send any report regarding the salubrity of the climate. The elevation of Mount Pattèh and appearance of the district lead us to hope it is the most desirable we have hitherto seen, and the same remark would be true regarding the fertility of the soil which, although not of the best quality, grows a considerable quantity of cotton; and the agent for the Model Farm Society, meeting in Mincing-lane, London, has requested to be landed upon it, which request we have complied with, and we have rented 500 acres to the said Society for a period of five years, subject to the approval of Her Majesty, for the annual sum of one penny per acre, payable by the Society to Her Majesty's Treasury.

We have, &c.

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER,
WILLIAM ALLEN,
BIRD ALLEN,
W. COOK.

The Right Hon Lord John Russell,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 27.

DEED of CESSION of a portion of land, situated on the right bank of the Ujìmmini, or river Niger, made by the Attàh of Èggarah, in favour of the Commissioners for and on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland. Encl. in No. 27.

Whereas Commissioners have arrived in the Ujìmmini or river Niger, sent by the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, to open a frendly communication with the Kings and Chiefs of

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Africa, whose territories border on the Niger and its tributaries, and whereas these Commissioners are invested with powers to treat with any of those chiefs for the conditional purchase of land over which they may have the sovereignty, and whereas the Attàh of Èggarah is assured of the full and declared intention of the British authorities to allow all persons the occupation of their houses, and the land they may at the present time have under cultivation, and is fully convinced of the pacific and just intentions of the Queen of Great Britain, and of the great reciprocal benefits which may result from British subjects being established in his territory, and is moreover desirous of manifesting his friendship for the Queen and her people; and whereas the Attàh has in the Treaty which he made with the said Commissioners at Iddah on the sixth of September, One thousand eight hundred and forty-one, agreed to sell and make over to Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, her heirs and successors, entirely and for ever, all such land, together with everything in it as the said Commissioners, with the concurrence of the Attàh's agents, shall select within that part of the Attàh's territory, situated near the confluence of the rivers Niger and Tchadda.

The undersigned agents do hereby, in virtue of the power and authority granted to them by the Attàh of Èggarah, and in his name, make over to the said Commissioners, for and on behalf of the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, all the lands whereof the boundaries shall be as follows, namely: A tract of land, situated on the Ujìmmini, or river Niger, bounded on the north by a rivulet flowing between the mountains which are named in Captain William Allen's published chart of the Niger Pattèh and Victoria; on the south, by the first rivulet which empties itself into the river Niger to the southward of the island named Bàrraga, and called in the same chart, Beaufort Island, and including within the said boundary the neighbouring mountains of Etse and Erro, marked in Allen's chart Soracte and Saddlebach; on the east by the river Niger, and on the west by straight lines joining the western bases of the mountains, named in the same chart, Outram, Deacon, and Soracte, and the nearest points of the aforesaid rivulets. And by this Document the undersigned have solemnly made over to the Queen of Great Britain, her heirs and successors, for ever, all the land aforesaid, free of all claims to future tribute, toll, or taxation, according to the terms of the aforesaid Treaty of the sixth of September, One thousand eight hundred and forty-one, guaranteeing to Her Majesty the full and peaceful possession of the same entirely and for ever, with power for Her Majesty to assume the sovereignty thereof, according to the stipulations of the said Treaty; in consideration of which the Attàh is to receive seven hundred thousand cowries, or goods to that amount, one-fifth part to be paid at the present time to the said agents as security for the purchase and delivery of the said land, the remainder to be paid as soon as the British people shall have had possession of the land for twelve months, provided they wish to retain the same, either in one payment or in annual instalments, not exceeding five, as may be most convenient to the Queen of Great Britain.

It is hereby understood that in consequence of the abhorrence with which slavery is viewed by Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland in every shape and form, British countenance and protection must not be expected by persons holding slaves within the land now purchased.

It is, however, reserved for the Queen of Great Britain to sanction, modify, or annul the whole, or any part of this Deed of Cession.

And the undersigned Agents do hereby acknowledge to have received from the said Commissioners one hundred and sixty thousand cowries in part payment of the purchase and conveyance of the said land, and do by these presents bind the Attàh to a faithful performance of the Agreement in the presence of Almighty God. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands this fourteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty-one.

Done in triplicate on board Her Britannic Majesty's ship Albert, at anchor at the confluence of the rivers Niger and Tchadda.

(Signed) MASSABAH, Malam.

BAJE his mark × — Attàh's Secretary.

BELLUH his mark × — Eldest son of the Chief of Locojah.

Witnesses,

JAMES FREDERICK SCHÖN, Missionary.
J. P. BROWN, Interpreter.
WILLIAM BOWDEN, Secretary.

The contents of this document were fully explained by me to the Attàh's agents in the Houssa language.

(Signed) JAMES FREDERICK SCHÖN, Missionary.

Attested:

H. D. TROTTER, Commissioner. BIRD ALLEN, Commissioner.
WILLIAM ALLEN, Commissioner. W. COOK, Commissioner.
WILLIAM BOWDEN, Secretary.

Her Majesty's Steam-vessel Albert,
14th September, 1841.

(No. 12.)

No. 28.

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

Her Majesty's Steam-vessel Albert, at the confluence of the rivers Niger and Chadda, 18th September, 1841.

My Lord,

WE have the honour to inform your Lordship, that the officers and men of the steam-vessels of the Expedition, up to the time of their arrival at Iddah, continued in the enjoyment of perfect health, there being no case of fever in any of the ships; but we regret to state that since that time, the 3rd September, sickness has prevailed to a considerable extent, both among the officers and men, of whom one officer, Mr. Nightingale, assistant-surgeon, and four men of the Albert, two men of the Wilberforce, and one of the Soudan have died, and as the fever is still going on and 60 men are in the sick list of the three vessels, Captain Trotter, as commander of the Expedition has, in conformity with the opinion of Dr. M'William, the head surgeon, deemed it absolutely necessary to despatch the Soudan to Fernando Po, and if requisite to Ascension, with such of the sick and convalescent as are considered by the surgeon of the respective ships to require a change of climate. No. 28.

Dr. M'William is of opinion that the other two vessels may proceed further up the river, believing that such a step might prove beneficial. The Commissioners have decided on sending two of their body up the Chadda, and Commander William Allen and Mr. Cook have been deputed to proceed on this service in the Wilberforce, while Commander Bird Allen has been removed from the Soudan into the Albert to proceed up the Niger.

The circumstances in which we are placed will, we trust, be a sufficient apology for writing so hurried a despatch, the Soudan being obliged to leave without delay.

We have, &c.

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER.
WILLIAM ALLEN.
BIRD ALLEN.
W. COOK.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 29.

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

Her Majesty's Steam-vessel Wilberforce,
Clarence Cove, Fernando Po, 9th October, 1841.

My Lord,

WE have the honour to inform your Lordship, that on the departure of the Soudan, on the 19th September, with the invalids, of which your Lordship was apprised in our last despatch; it was deemed advisable to separate the Commission, in order that Captain Trotter and Commander Bird Allen might be enabled to make Treaties with the Chiefs on the Niger, and that Commander William Allen and Mr. Cook should proceed up the Chadda for the same purpose. No. 29.

On the 21st, the sickness on board the Wilberforce had increased to such an alarming degree, that it became impossible for the vessel to proceed up the Chadda. She was, therefore, ordered to the sea, and Ascension, while the Albert, being considered by Captain Trotter in an efficient state as regarded officers, proceeded up the Niger, as before decided on.

The Wilberforce arrived at Fernando Po on the 1st instant, and found that the Soudan had been fortunate enough to meet Her Majesty's Brig Dolphin, at the mouth of the Nun, and that on board this vessel, 35 of the sick had been immediately sent off to Ascension. We regret to say that four officers and two men of the Expedition are since dead. The sick on board the Wilberforce are all in a fair way of recovery.

Commander William Allen has despatched the Soudan, under the command of Lieut. Strange, to the assistance of Captain Trotter, and she was preceded by the Ethiope steamer, belonging to Mr. Jamieson, of Glasgow; the master, Mr. Becroft, having handsomely volunteered his services.

The Wilberforce proceeds this day to Princes Island without an officer fit for

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duty, except the commander and surgeon. Not having an engineer fit for duty, we have been obliged to avail ourselves of the services of one of the engineers of the Pluto, and the assistance of Lieut. Blount, the commander of that vessel, who has kindly offered to accompany us to the island of Princes.

We have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM ALLEN,
W. COOK.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell,
&c. &c. &c.

(Separate.) No. 30.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Captain TROTTER to Lord JOHN RUSSELL.

Her Majesty's Steam-vessel Albert, Fernando Po,
25th October, 1841.

My Lord,

No. 30.

IT is my painful duty to inform your Lordship that the steam-vessels of the Niger Expedition have been obliged to return from the Niger, owing to a most calamitous fever having broken out; the Soudan was obliged to descend the river, in consequence on the 19th, and the Wilberforce on the 21st of September, having reached no higher than the confluence of the Niger and Tchadda, but the Albert at that time being still able to proceed higher up, and thinking it of consequence to reach Rabbah this year to finish the Treaties on the Niger, and hoping to get into a better climate as we advanced, I proceeded up the river with Commander Bird Allen, the Commission having previously deputed Commander William Allen and Mr. Cook to form treaties on the coast, should they have an opportunity. On our arrival at Egga, however, the sickness had increased to so alarming an extent, that it was found necessary to descend the river forthwith, leaving the Amelia, the Albert's tender, at the confluence on the way down (manned with natives of Africa) for the defence of the Model Farm, Mr. Carr, the superintendent, having requested protection.

I consider the advance of the Albert as far as Egga to have been of some importance, inasmuch as we have obtained a good deal of information relative to the subjugation of the Nufi nation by the Falatahs, and a very little mediation on our parts might probably have the effect of making the Nufi people more independent and less oppressed, and tend materially to the diminution of the Slave Trade. It is most desirable that we should have a communication with Rabbah next year, but it is impossible till I get to Ascension in the Albert, and ascertain the condition of the crew of the Wilberforce (which vessel I hope is now there), and the Soudan, and consult with my brother Commissioners, to be able to inform your Lordship how far the Expedition can be put in force again next year, to carry forward the objects of the mission. Only nine white persons have escaped the fever, out of about 150; and the Expedition has already lost 22 white persons by death, and it is Dr. M'William's opinion, that the nature of the fever has been such as to make it inadvisable in general for those who have had the disease to return to the coast of Africa.

It is with sorrow I have to report to your Lordship the death of Commander Bird Allen, of the Soudan, the Third Commissioner, who expired this morning, after a continued fever of 34 days. The loss of his services will be much felt by the Commissioners; and the navy has lost a most valuable officer. He was universally esteemed and respected by the Expedition.

I have thought it my duty to write full particulars to the Admiralty, of the condition of the ships, as far as I know it, and I take the liberty of referring your Lordship to that office for any particulars that may be desired on the subject. I am still only convalescent, and quite unequal to writing more fully on the subject of the Commission by the present opportunity, but as I consider it to be my duty to proceed to England by the first ship bound thence from Ascension, in order to lay before the Admiralty the exact state of the steam-vessels, I hope in the month of March, to have the honour of laying before your Lordship the opinions of the Commissioners on the feasibility of further operations up the Niger. If my services, then, are further required, I shall be able to rejoin the Expedition before July, which is the earliest month for entering the Niger.

I have, &c.

The Right Hon. Lord John Russell, (Signed) H. D. TROTTER.
&c. &c. &c.

No. 31.

COPY of a LETTER from Sir JOHN BARROW, Bart. to G. W. HOPE, Esq.

Admiralty, 19th January, 1842.

Sir,

No. 31.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith the copy of a letter of the 25th October, from Captain Trotter, of Her Majesty's steam vessel "Albert," commanding the Niger Expedition; and in transmitting these papers for Lord Stanley's consideration, I am to express the great regret of my Lords, who feel it their duty to submit to his Lordship the propriety of altogether withdrawing the Expedition.

I am, &c.,

JOHN BARROW.

G. W. Hope, Esq.,
&c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 31.

Her Majesty's Steam-vessel Albert, Clarence Cove,
Fernando Po, 25th October, 1841.

Sir,

Encl. in No. 31.

MY last letter to you, dated the 18th September, from the confluence of the Niger and Chadda, would acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that fever had broken out on board the vessels of the Expedition, and that I had found it necessary to dispatch the Soudan to the sea with all the cases the surgeons deemed to require a change of climate, directing Lieutenant Fishbourne to take charge of her in the absence of Commander Bird Allen, engaged in his duty as Commissioner.

I also informed their Lordships, in the same letter, that the Albert was about to proceed up the Niger, and the Wilberforce up the Chadda, in prosecution of the objects of the mission.

After the departure of the Soudan, however, two of the engineers of the Wilberforce were taken ill, and the crew had become so weakened by an increased number of cases of fever, that Commander William Allen found it impossible to proceed up the Chadda, and I accordingly ordered him to take his vessel forthwith to the sea, and if necessary, on to Ascension.

As there was still an engineer quite well on board the Albert, and another convalescent, and I considered the ship in other respects quite able to continue longer up the river, and as Dr. M'William, the surgeon, thought the fever, when we reached higher up the stream, might probably assume a milder character, and the change of air might soon restore the patients still remaining on board who were not desirous of going in the Wilberforce to the sea, and it being of importance to reach Rabbah this year to finish the chain of treaties with Chiefs on the banks of the Niger, I deemed it my duty to try the experiment, and accordingly I weighed at the same time with the Wilberforce, on the 21st September, and the Albert proceeded up the river while she moved down.

The cases of sickness however, continued to increase, till at length, when we got to Egga, on the 28th of September, the only remaining engineer was taken ill, and no officers, excepting Dr. M'William, Mr. Willie, mate, and myself, were free of fever. We continued wooding and preparing to return down the river till the 4th of October, when I was myself seized with fever, and Mr. Willie a day or two afterwards.

On the 5th October, Mr. Willie weighed and dropped down the river, but was soon prevented by sickness from carrying on duty, and Dr. M'William, assisted by only one white seaman, lately recovered from fever, took charge of the vessel, not thinking it right, in my state of fever, to report Mr. Willie's illness.

For want of engineers, we should have had to drop down the whole length of the river without steam had not Dr. Stanger, the geologist, in the most spirited manner, after consulting Tredgold's work on steam, and getting some little instruction from the convalescent engineer, undertaken to work the engine himself. The heat of the engine-room affected the engineer so much as to throw him back in his convalescence and prevent his rendering any further assistance, but Dr. Stanger took the vessel safely below Eboe, without anything going wrong with the machinery, whilst Dr. M'William, in addition to his enormous press of duty as a medical officer, conducted the ship down the river in the most able and judicious manner. I may here mention that the doctor steered the ship entirely by Commander William Allen's excellent chart of the Niger, of the correctness of which we had a good opportunity of judging on ascending the river, and which proved eminently useful on the passage down; and Mr. Brown, clerk, a native of Africa, who had been up the river before, also rendered him considerable assistance in the pilotage.

When about 100 miles from the sea, Captain Beecroft happily made his appearance in the Æthiope steamer, having been requested to ascend the river and communicate with us by Commander William Allen, of the Wilberforce; and it was really a Providential mercy that he arrived when he did, for had any accident, however trivial, happened to the engines, they could not have been worked any longer, as Dr. Stanger had no knowledge of the manner of rectifying it. Fever still prevented my going on deck, and there was no executive officer to take the vessel over the bar, and only one convalescent sailor doing duty, and no black sailor who could properly take the helm; Captain Beecroft, however, came on board with an engineer, and not only took the vessel over the bar, but brought her all the way across to this anchorage (a distance of 160 miles) where we arrived in safety on the 17th instant.

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The assistance rendered by Captain Beecroft, independent of the services of his vessel, the Æthiope, was, I can assure their Lordships, almost indispensable to the safety of the Albert; and I consider it to have been so highly conducive to the preservation of many valuable lives which might have been sacrificed, had we run aground in the Delta and remained there even for a few days, that I shall present him with 105*l.*, and his engineer with 10*l.* 10*s.* by bills on the Accountant-General of the Navy, and I trust their Lordships will sanction this expenditure when they take the circumstances of the case and the highly meritorious conduct of Captain Beecroft into consideration. I recommended to their Lordships before leaving England, the introduction of the sum of 2000*l.* into the miscellaneous estimates of this year, for the contingent expenses of the Expedition, by which this expense might be met.

The morning after our arrival here the sick were all landed in comfortable quarters provided for the officers and men in the most kind and prompt manner by the agent of the West African Company; and we have reason to believe the climate to be healthy for the present. The air is cooler than the Niger by about 12 degrees.

I omitted to mention that off the bar of the Nun we met the Soudan about to reascend the river under charge of Lieutenant Strange, in the absence of Lieutenant Fishbourne who had been sent sick to Ascension. She was in a very inefficient state, and returned with us to this anchorage. Mr. Strange is at present in charge of the Albert as well as the Soudan; the officers of this ship of every rank being in sick quarters, with the exceptance of Mr. Mouat, assistant clerk, doing duty at the hospital.

I regret to state that, in addition to the loss of Mr. Nightingale, assistant surgeon, and four seamen, as mentioned in my letter of the 18th September, that between the confluence and Egga, Mr. Lodge, the second engineer, threw himself overboard in a fit of delirium and was drowned; and that afterwards two seamen and one marine of this ship died, and Mr. Kingdon, seamen's schoolmaster of the Soudan; and that Mr. Willie, mate, and the purser's steward, have died here since our arrival; and it is my painful duty to add that the death of Commander Bird Allen, of the Soudan, has this moment been reported to me, and that Mr. D. H. Stenhouse, acting lieutenant of the Albert, is lying in the most precarious state.

For several days after Mr. Willie was taken ill, he insisted occasionally upon getting out of his cot (which was on deck) and giving orders; and I fear the extra exertions of this zealous young officer contributed much to aggravate his case.

I am happy to say there is a general improvement taking place in the remainder of the sick, with the exception of Dr. M'William and Mr. Woodhouse, assistant surgeon, who have lately been taken ill, the latter with the "river fever," and Dr. M'William's, it is feared, may prove to be so likewise; but these cases, I trust, will not prove severe, now that we are in a better and cooler climate. I hope all the patients will be so far improved, and the engineers so much recovered, as in a short time to be able to proceed with the Albert to Ascension.

I call the disease the "river fever," because the surgeons report it to be of a nature that is not treated of in any work on the subject, and it has such peculiarities as they appear never before to have witnessed either in African or West Indian fevers.

The Soudan, as alluded to before, left the confluence on her passage down the river on the 19th September, under charge of Lieut. Fishbourne, with the master, a mate, and the second engineer, able to do a little duty, but on the following day these officers were too ill to afford Mr. Fishbourne any assistance. He had, however, two stokers able to drive the engines, who were for a time well enough to do duty, and he reached the mouth of the Nun in the short space of two days afterwards: during the last 24 hours before reaching Fernando Po, he was compelled to work the engines and do every other duty himself: such exertions could not fail to hurt his health, and he was seized with fever at this place after his arrival, though I am happy to say he was doing well on board the Wilberforce when she sailed for Ascension.

I beg strongly to recommend the zeal and exertions of this officer for the favourable consideration of their Lordships.

The Soudan opportunely met the Dolphin at the mouth of the Nun, and received prompt assistance from her commander, who embarked 35 patients, all that were fit to be removed, and sailed with them for Ascension, under charge of Mr. Stirling, assistant surgeon of the Wilberforce.

Before the Soudan reached Fernando Po, Mr. Marshall, acting surgeon, and Mr. Waters, clerk in charge, fell a sacrifice to the climate, and a stoker of the Soudan and the seamen's schoolmaster of the Albert died after their arrival.

Mr. Thompson, assistant surgeon of the Wilberforce, had charge of the sick on board the Soudan, on her passage down the river, and his exertions and fatigue from which he is now suffering were only equalled by those of Mr. Fishbourne.

The Wilberforce left the confluence on the 21st September, but owing to the necessity of cutting fuel did not reach the mouth of the Nun until the 25th, nor Fernando Po, till the 1st October. Dr. Pritchett, the acting surgeon of that ship, had 26 cases under treatment when she left the confluence, and the number increased afterwards, and I can assure their Lordships that the exertions of that officer were of no ordinary kind, and his duties on the way to Ascension, now that he has no assistant, are likely to be still more arduous: this officer's services, as well as those of Mr. Thompson, acting surgeon of the Soudan, render them highly deserving of their Lordships' consideration for promotion. The Inspector of Fleets and Nava. Hospitals, will, when he receives their reports, be well able to judge of their merits and arduous service on the Expedition.

The Wilberforce, during her passage down, and at Fernando Po, had the misfortune to lose her purser, Mr. Cyrus Wakeham, and Peter Fitzgerald, a stoker; also Mr. Harvey, acting master of the Albert, and Mr. Collman, acting assistant surgeon of the Soudan.

I have before mentioned the exertion and judgment displayed by Dr. M'William, the surgeon of this vessel, in bringing her down the greater part of the Niger in safety; but this would be considered the more remarkable, if it were possible to convey to their Lordships the exertions and fatigue he had to go through in his attendance upon the sick. I cannot speak too much in praise of this valuable officer, nor feel thankful enough that a man of so much talent and energy was appointed to the Expedition.

I have already alluded to Dr. Stanger's praiseworthy conduct in his acquiring a knowledge of the steam-engine, by which we were enabled to get down the river so much more speedily than we otherwise could have done; but this gentleman, if possible, was still more useful in the medical assistance which he rendered to Dr. M'William, who latterly had no assistant surgeon to relieve him in his duties. I am sorry that Dr. Stanger is beginning to feel the effect of his exertions, having had fever (though slightly) within the last two days. I must also mention, Mr. Mouat, assistant clerk, who having served several years with a surgeon in London, was able to render great satisfaction in the medical department up the river, and is particularly of use at this moment when Dr. M'William and Mr. Woodhouse, assistant surgeon, are ill. I beg to recommend to their Lordships consideration the propriety of remunerating this gentleman for his services, more particularly as his pay as clerk's assistant is so very small. In bringing before their Lordships' notice the admirable conduct of the surgeon and acting surgeons of the Expedition, I wish by no means to disparage the exertions of Mr. Woodhouse, the assistant surgeon of the Albert, or those of the deceased medical officers, which were very great though not of so responsible a nature as those of Dr. M'William and Dr. Pritchett, or of Mr. Thompson, who, before he descended the river with the large number of the sick in Soudan, was for a length of time doing duty in that vessel, during the protracted illness of the the late acting surgeon, Mr. Marshall. The number of deaths that happened after the vessels got through the Delta, until the sailing of the Wilberforce hence for Ascension, is shown in the enclosed paper. I have no exact return of the number taken ill in the Wilberforce, but I believe it may be stated that only five white persons escaped the fever in that vessel, whilst there are only four who have not been attacked in the Albert up to the present time, and no white person in the Soudan escaped it; and when I add that Dr. M'William is of opinion that few, if any, will be fit to return to the coast of Africa who have had the fever, and that every lieutenant, excepting Mr. Strange, all the medical officers but Dr. Pritchett and Mr. Thompson, (it is doubtful yet whether Dr. M'William has the river fever or not) all the mates, masters, second masters, and clerks, the whole of the engineers and stokers of the Expedition, and the gunner of the Albert, (the only vessel that has an officer of that rank) have been attacked, their Lordships will be able to form an idea of the paralysed state of the steam-vessels.

It will be impossible for me to inform their Lordships as to the efficiency of the Expedition for future operations, until I can get to Ascension; I may, however, observe that it will be found scarcely possible to officer and man more than one of the steam-vessels, unless assistance be sent from England, or obtained from the strength of the African squadron.

As the Æthiope will probably go home in April next, I have obtained the promise of Captain Beecroft to leave his surgeon behind if he can be spared, who would take an acting order as assistant surgeon, and willingly go up the Niger again, and if he can spare his black engineer also, he will endeavour to induce him to remain out with the view of joining the Expedition.

Could their Lordships obtain an assistant-surgeon and black engineers in England to volunteer for the Expedition, it would be most desirable, as it is quite a contingency our obtaining the individuals alluded to belonging to the Æthiope.

Dr. M'William is quite of opinion, as far as he can judge, that the Niger is not fit for white constitutions, and I shall take care to keep this in view when making arrangements at Ascension, so that the fewest possible number of white men be continued in the steam-vessels.

Captain Beecroft, whose knowledge of the river exceeds that of any other person, is of opinion (and I quite concur with him on the subject,) that the Niger should not be entered before the beginning of July, as it is doubtful whether the river will have sufficiently risen to insure the passage up without detention; so that their Lordships may calculate upon the Albert and Wilberforce remaining at Ascension till the 1st of June.

It will be necessary for one steam-vessel to go up the Niger next year, as I left the Amelia tender at the confluence of the Niger and Chadda for the protection of the people of the model farm. Not thinking it right to leave up the river any white person after the fatal sickness we had experienced, I placed the vessel in charge of a trustworthy black with 12 other natives of Africa under him, all intelligent, steady men.

Their Lordships will remember that they gave permission for the utensils of the model farm to be carried out by the Expedition, which were landed at the desire of Mr. Carr the superintendent, at a spot which he selected for the site of the farm, situated immediately opposite to the confluence, and as Mr. Carr made a request for naval protection to his people in the absence of the steamers, which I considered very reasonable, I obtained volunteers to remain there in the Amelia before the Albert went to Egga, and on my return to the confluence I was too ill to do duty, but Dr. M'William, at my desire, sent nine months provisions on board, and cowries were left to buy several months more. In our distressed state it would have been impossible to tow the Amelia down the river, but independently of that consideration, it was, I conceive, necessary to leave a vessel for the protection of the farm people.

It is also very desirable that a vessel should get up to Rabbah, if possible, next year, not only to complete a series of treaties which have been already commenced, but to show the people of Rabbah that a man of war can get up to their town, and the presence of one of Her Majesty's vessels there might, I conceive, have a beneficial effect in their future treatment of

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the Nufi nation, whom we found much oppressed by the Falatahs, and also tend much to the extinction of the Slave Trade on the upper part of the Niger. This, however, cannot be determined upon till I meet my brother Commissioners at Ascension.

Should only one of the steamers ascend the Niger next year I would prefer one of the larger ones to be selected from their superior velocity and stowage. Under present circumstances I would countermand the coals which I requested might be forwarded to Bonny, though if already shipped they will doubtless prove very useful, for it is more difficult to procure wood in that than in most other African rivers, owing to the prejudice of the natives against Kroomen cutting it.

I conceive it will be my duty to go to England by the first opportunity from Ascension after my arrival, in order to lay the exact condition of the Expedition before their Lordships, and I have every reason to think I shall be able to arrive in March, which would give me ample time to rejoin the Expedition should their Lordships require my further services.

I may state for their Lordships' information, that the Albert and Wilberforce could not proceed to England with safety excepting in the summer months, and I consider the Soudan as quite incapable of returning to Europe at all. I am preparing to leave the Soudan in this sheltered harbour in charge of native ship keepers, and as Captain Beecroft has promised to make his engineer light the fires occasionally and work the engine, and as Lieutenant Blount, of the Pluto, will be able to do the same when he comes into port, there is every probability of the machinery being kept in good order.

I am in daily expectation of the arrival of the Golden Spring with fuel from England, of which there is scarcely enough remaining here to fill the Albert's bunkers, the Pluto having used a large quantity of our store. I hope a supply of fuel may have been sent to Ascension before this time, so as to enable us to keep the machinery of the vessels in good order at that island.

I am, &c.

The Secretary of the Admiralty. (Signed) H. D. Trotter, Captain.

Names of Officers and Men of the Niger Expedition who have died between the 1st of September, 1841, (the time of the Vessels getting through the Delta of the Niger, on the passage up, and of the first breaking out of the "River Fever" on board the Soudan,) and the 25th October, 1841. *The list does not include any who may have died on the passage to Ascension in the Dolphin or Wilberforce.*

Her Majesty's Steam Vessel Albert.

Names.	Rank.	Date of Decease.
F. D. Nightingale	Assistant Surgeon	Died in Albert.
G. B. Harvey	Acting Master	Died in Wilberforce.
W. C. Willie	Mate	18 Oct., 1841; died in Albert.
Albion Lodge	Second Engineer	7 Oct., 1841; ditto.
John Peglar	Armourer	6 Sept., 1841; ditto.
George Powell	Cooper	11 Sept., 1841; ditto.
John Burgess	Sailmaker's Crew	14 Sept., 1841; ditto.
James Robertson	Stoker	17 Sept., 1841; ditto.
John Fuge	Ship's Cook	27 Sept., 1841; ditto.
George Symes	Caulker	17 Oct., 1841; ditto.
Robert Millward	Purser's Steward	22 Sept., 1841; ditto.
Lewis J. Wolfe	Seamen's Schoolmaster	27 Sept., 1841; died in Soudan.

Her Majesty's Steam Vessel Wilberforce.

Cyrus Wakeham	Purser	
Kneebone	A. B.	
Rablin	Supper	
Fitzgerald	Stoker	

Her Majesty's Steam Vessel Soudan.

Bird Allen	Commander	25 Oct., 1841.
W. B. Marshall	Acting Surgeon	21 Sept., 1841.
H. Collman	Assistant Surgeon	Died in Wilberforce.
N. Waters	Clerk in charge	22 Sept., 1841.
William Levinge	Captain's Steward	
James Thomas	Carpenter's Crew	21 Sept., 1841.
Christopher Bigley	Stoker	2 Oct., 1841.
William Kingdon	Seamen's Schoolmaster	12 Oct., 1841; died in Albert.

H. D. Trotter, Captain.

No. 32.

(No. 25.)

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord STANLEY.

Her Majesty's Steam-vessel, Wilberforce, Ascension,
My Lord, 23rd November, 1841.

No. 32.

IN our Despatch of the 9th October, a duplicate of which is herewith enclosed, your Lordship was apprised of the proceedings of the Expedition up to that period; we have now the honour to inform you that the Wilberforce sailed from Fernando Po on the 9th October.

From the state of the sick on board, including all the engineers, we were only enabled to put to sea, by the kind assistance of Lieutenant Blount, of Her Majesty's steam-vessel Pluto, who accompanied us as far as the Ilha das Rollas, and stayed by us as long as it was deemed necessary.

After remaining some time at the islands of Princes, St. Thomas's, and Annobon, to allow our engineers to gain strength, we arrived here on the 17th instant.

During this period we buried two men; the remainder of the crew of this vessel are all recovered or convalescent.

We regret to inform your Lordship that four men from the Albert, and the same number from the Soudan, died on board Her Majesty's brig Dolphin, on the passage from the Nun to this island; since which one lieutenant and 20 men have been invalided, and the probability is that the greater number of those who have had fever will wish to return to England.

In pursuance of orders from Captain Trotter, the Wilberforce will proceed to Fernando Po about the end of December, when we shall endeavour to carry out your Lordship's instructions by negociating with the chiefs in the Bight of Biafra, until we fall in with Captains Trotter and Bird Allen.

We have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM ALLEN,
W. COOK,
} Commissioners.

The Right Hon. Lord Stanley,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 33.

(No. 3.)

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord STANLEY.

Her Majesty' Steam-vessel Wilberforce, Ascension,
My Lord, 7th January, 1842.

No. 33.

WE regret to have to state, that by the arrival here of Her Majesty's brigantine Buzzard, very disastrous accounts have reached us, respecting the Expedition. We are unable as yet to make any official report to your Lordship; we beg leave therefore to give the substance of the verbal information which we have received from Lieutenant Levinge, who fell in with Her Majesty's steam-vessel Albert at Princes Island, on the 22nd December, on her way to the Ilhas das Rollas to procure wood for fuel, and may therefore be expected here in a very few days.

It appears that Captain Trotter only reached Egga, forty miles above the confluence, and was on his return when all hands became sick. Fortunately the Ethiope steamer, commanded by Mr. Beecroft, who, we informed your Lordship, had so handsomely volunteered his services, met the Albert, and assisted her down the river. Captain Trotter was dangerously ill, and took a passage for England in the Warree, a schooner belonging to Mr. Jamieson of Glasgow, but we cannot learn at what date.

Commander Bird Allen, of the Soudan, and several officers and men belonging to the Albert, are reported to be dead; indeed she is said to have only two seamen on board, and to have been obliged to borrow an engineer from the Pluto.

Lieutenant Strange, who was ordered by Commander William Allen to the assistance of Captain Trotter, met the Albert coming out of the river. As all the officers and crew of the Soudan were dead or absent from her, Captain Trotter, we understand, has ordered her to be laid up at Fernando Po.

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Her Majesty's steam-vessel Wilberforce is now in an efficient state, having been thoroughly cleared out and refitted, and though short of complement, especially in officers, the crew is perfectly healthy, the greater part of those whom it was necessary to send to England having been exchanged for able seamen.

We were on the point of sailing for Fernando Po, in pursuance of orders from the senior naval officer, but in consequence of this melancholy intelligence we deem it advisable to await the arrival of Her Majesty's ship Albert.

We have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM ALLEN, W. COOK, } Commissioners.

The Right Hon. Lord Stanley,
&c, &c. &c.

No. 34.

(No. 4.)

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord STANLEY.

Her Majesty's Steam-vessel Wilberforce, at Ascension,
My Lord, 12th February, 1842.

No. 34. WE have the honour to inform your Lordship of the arrival of Her Majesty's steam-vessel Albert, with most of her remaining officers and men, much debilitated by the severe fevers and sufferings which they have undergone, so that it will be some time ere she can be again efficient.

As the Wilberforce is, however, quite ready for service, and her crew have had sufficient time to recruit their strength, we have deliberated seriously on the steps most advisable to take in our difficult position, deprived as we are of the able counsels of Captain Trotter, and of the lamented Commander Bird Allen, and we have decided on the expediency of making an attempt to enter the river as early as possible, in order to carry into execution the commands of Her Majesty's Government.

For the purpose of making your Lordship fully acquainted with the reasons which have led us to this determination, we think we cannot do better than enclose a copy of the minutes of our proceedings, which we accordingly lay before your Lordship.

Lieutenant Toby, who has been obliged to invalid from this ship, and will take charge of this despatch, will have the honour of giving your Lordship any information as to the state of the vessels.

We have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM ALLEN, W. COOK, } Commissioners.

The Right Hon. Lord Stanley,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 34.

Encl. in No. 34. At a meeting held on board Her Majesty's Steam-vessel Wilberforce, at Ascension, on the 3rd February, 1842, present Captain William Allen, William Cook, Esq., Commissioners: after the usual opening with prayer, &c.—

Despatches were read from Captain Trotter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to the remaining Commissioners.

Captain Allen then said that these communications contained subjects for the most serious deliberation. They conveyed the sad intelligence of the death of many of their companions; and the Commission in particular was reduced to half its number by the sickness and absence of Captain Trotter, and by the lamented death of Captain Bird Allen. These misfortunes he feared would go far to paralyse the efforts of the Expedition. It is therefore incumbent on us to examine carefully our present condition, and to ascertain what prospect there is of attaining the objects for which so great an expense has been incurred by the country.

The first subject for consideration he thought was, whether it be advisable to fill the vacancy in the Commission.

Captain Trotter, in his letter, says, " It is inadvisable to fill up the vacancy until it be seen who will have sufficient strength to return to the coast of Africa, and be able to re-ascend the Niger, and fulfil the duties of Commissioner."

In this opinion Captain Allen fully concurred, believing that any appointment would be pre-

mature until the period for active operations shall commence, or the wishes of Her Majesty's Government be known.

Captain Trotter is clearly of opinion that one vessel at least should be sent up the Niger during the ensuing season, for the purpose of making a treaty with the King of the Falatahs, and to communicate with the persons left at the model farm, but Captain Trotter also states, that the earliest time that a vessel can enter the river with the certainty of being able to pass the shoal water above Abòh, will be about the 1st of July. He therefore informs the Commissioners that he had written to the Admiralty to say that the vessels might be expected to remain at Ascension till the 1st of June. Captain Trotter was partly led to this opinion by statements made by Messrs. Becroft and Midgley, persons of great experience in the Niger and on the coast. The first of these gentlemen gives it as his opinion, from the difficulty which he found in the Ethiope drawing five feet ten inches water at the latter end of May, that a vessel drawing four feet, wishing to reach Rabbah as quickly as possible, should not enter the river previous to the 1st of July; if she draws five feet, not before the end of July; and a vessel wishing to ascend as high as Adda Kuddu in March, should not draw more than three feet.

Mr. Midgley's opinion relates to the healthy or unhealthy time of the year; he states that the rainy season, namely, June, July, August, and September, are the most healthy; whilst April and May, October and November, are the most unhealthy.

Captain Allen said he was deeply impressed with the importance of making a treaty with the King of Rabbah, since it was evident from the information during the recent visit of the Albert to Egga, joined to his own previous knowledge, that the Falatahs of Rabbah are the oppressors of all the surrounding nations, and consequently they will be found to be the principal obstacle to the accomplishment of the beneficent intentions of Her Majesty and the British public.

With respect to the people left at the model farm, there were reasons even stronger than those adduced by Captain Trotter, which claimed the earliest attention of the Commissioners.

Rumours have reached them which were unknown to Captain Trotter, that the infant settlement had been attacked and every one murdered by the natives; these reports came in Her Majesty's brigantine Buzzard, by the circuitous route of Benìn; and though from the peculiar mode of intercourse in the interior they must necessarily have passed through many persons, they were liable to exaggeration, and consequently not entitled to much credit, yet the voice of humanity, as well as the honour of the nation, called upon them to communicate as early as possible, and to ensure their safety.

A letter, which was read from Mr. Brown, a native clerk attached to the Expedition, led to suspect also that Mr. Carr, the superintendant of the model farm, who was returning to the settlement in a canoe belonging to the people of Brass River, was attacked by natives, and probably murdered. This statement, however, seemed to be too vague to merit much confidence, yet as the safety of a British subject was involved, it became necessary to inquire into it.

In alluding to the efficiency of the Expedition, Captain Trotter could not of course be acquainted with the state of the Wilberforce; but Captain Allen had great satisfaction in being able to say that she was in all respects ready for service, as her crew were in excellent health, and with two officers who had volunteered from the Albert, he was able to man both the Wilberforce and the Soudan.

With reference to Mr. Becroft's statements, although Captain Allen had the greatest respect for the energy and talent of that gentleman, he could not quite agree with him as to the proper time for entering the river, especially as he could not be supposed to have had sufficient means for ascertaining the best channel, and there was reason to believe that in his written statement he had purposely kept within the mark.

Captain Allen knew from personal experience that there is shoal water a little way above Abòh, but as he trusted he could lighten the vessels considerably, he hoped to be able to pass that part, and to reach at least the confluence during the lowest season; and in this belief he was confirmed by the examination of the journal of Messrs. Laird and Oldfield, as well as his own charts and journals.

With respect to Mr. Midgley's report, Captain Allen agreed that the rainy season is the most healthy, but he also found that in the interior the months of April and May were not only very pleasant, but he had reason to believe healthy; and, although from sickness and other causes, the Expedition had not attained all the objects which had been hoped for, and therefore in England it may be regarded as a total failure, still he believed that all the ardour of those composing it was not destroyed, but that the officers and men he had the honour to command, who had recovered their health, feel with him, that their duty to their country imperatively calls upon them to make another attempt.

It was with much regret he differed from Captain Trotter and the authorities he had quoted, but such was his confidence in the zeal, talent, and energy of that officer, that he is quite sure if he were here he would not hesitate to proceed as early as possible to the relief of the settlers at the model farm, and to complete the operations which were so well commenced.

The importance of ascertaining the state of the river when at the lowest is unquestionable; and although a vessel entering at the end of July might be more sure of passing up without obstruction, she would be only twenty days in advance of the season of our former disasters; we should then still remain in ignorance of the length of time that the navigation of the river may be open to commercial enterprise; and this opportunity once lost, such would probably be the feeling of our country, that many years might elapse ere Africa can receive the blessed

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light of religion, and the advantages of civilization which we hoped to have been the humble means of introducing.

He would therefore propose to devote the remaining energies of the Expedition to the noble cause for which it was intended.

And, as the Wilberforce is efficient, and the Soudan may easily be made so, he would proceed to Fernando Po, and there lighten both vessels as much as possible; proceed up the Niger when at its lowest or at the commencement of its rise, communicate with the Ezzeh Obi Ossaī of Aboh, with the Attàh of Iddah, with the settlers of the model farm, make a treaty with the King of the Falatahs at Rabbah, and then return, unless everything should prove favourable; in that case an attempt might be made to explore the Chadda.

In the event of any sickness breaking out, he should immediately return to the sea, without waiting to ascertain the result.

Mr. Cook said he is of opinion the river will have reached nearly the lowest in January; and as before the middle of March the quicksands, which compose the greater part of its bed, will become so drained and consolidated as to throw the stream into one channel, it will be found deeper and more rapid at that time than after it begins to rise, or before it has reached its lowest.

He thought it improbable that a river which Park describes at Sego to be "as broad as the Thames at Westminster," and which, in its course through a country more or less mountainous of upwards of a thousand miles, must receive many large rivers as tributaries before it is joined by the Chadda, can afterwards dwindle into an insignificant stream, not having a depth of five or six feet, though he should not have been surprised at its not carrying this depth through the many channels of the Delta.

He has carefully read over Mr. Becroft's statement to Captain Trotter, and although he believes that gentleman would not intentially state an untruth, he thinks it very doubtful doubtful whether he (Mr. Becroft) possessed the means of correctly ascertaining the deepest channel between the Delta and Rabbah, he would further say, that in a conversation Mr. Becroft informed him that, had his vessel, the Ethiope, drawn only five feet, he could have reached at least the confluence without having occasion to lighten her.

He also believes that March and the two following months will be found comparatively healthy, and the best time for transacting business in the interior; he, therefore, recommends that an attempt to ascend the river be made in March, when, the current having less strength than during full flood, the proper channel may be traced with less difficulty, and the facilities which it affords for the purpose of navigation can be more correctly ascertained.

Captain Allen still thought it safer to enter the river when the commencement of the flood may be expected to be at hand, since, should a channel not be found, they might, if in health, be able to wait a few days, and, in the event of the vessels getting aground, the rising river would soon relieve them.

It was ultimately agreed that it is expedient an attempt be made to enter the river as early as possible, in order to carry into execution the commands of Her Majesty's Government.

We have, &c.

(Signed) William Allen, W. Cook, } Commissioners.

(No. 5.)

No. 35.

Copy of a DESPATCH from Her Majesty's Commissioners of the Expedition to the Niger to Lord Stanley.

Her Majesty's Steamer Wilberforce, Ascension,

My Lord, March, 1842.

No. 35. We have the honour to inform you that Her Majesty's steamer Wilberforce sails this day for the coast of Africa, for the purpose of proceeding as early as possible up the river Niger, in conformity with the resolutions passed on the 3rd February, of which we informed your Lordship in our Despatch of the 12th February.

We are happy to inform your Lordship that her officers and men are in excel lent health.

We have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM ALLEN, W. COOK, } Commissioners.

The Right Hon. Lord Stanley,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 36.

Copy of a LETTER from Sir John Barrow, Bart., to G. W. Hope, Esq.

Sir, Admiralty, 23rd March, 1842.

No. 36. I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Lord Stanley, copies of a letter from Captain

Trotter, dated the 15th instant, and of a report from the same officer, on the state of the efficiency of the vessels of the Niger Expedition, and I am to request you will inform me of his Lordship's opinion with reference to the proposition respecting the employment of Mr. Becroft in exploring the rivers of Africa, and the other points alluded to.

I am, &c.
JOHN BARROW.

G. W. Hope, Esq.,
&c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 36.

16, Upper Seymour-street, Portman-square,
15th March, 1842.

Sir,

I BEG you will have the goodness to lay before their Lordships the accompanying report of the vessels of the Niger Expedition, which I have drawn up at Sir George Cockburn's request. I regret that I have been so long in doing so, but the state of my health has totally prevented me preparing it sooner. I shall, as soon as I am able, draw up for their Lordships' information an account of the proceedings of the Niger Expedition from the time of the vessels leaving England.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) H. D. TROTTER, Captain.

To the Secretary of the Admiralty.

CAPTAIN TROTTER'S REPORT of the State of Efficiency of the Vessels of the Niger Expedition, &c. &c.

THE Wilberforce was at Ascension on the 25th January, ready for sea, and efficient in every respect, with the exception of having no mates; and Commander William Allen (the senior officer of the Expedition in my absence) had determined to remain there till the arrival of the Albert, then daily expected, by which vessel he would receive instructions from me to wait there till the 1st of June for further orders from their Lordships; and if he received no orders by that time, he was to proceed to Fernando Po, where I informed him he might expect a communication from the Admiralty by the first week in July.

The Albert, I have every reason to believe, is as efficient as the Wilberforce, excepting with regard to the number of her white crew, which she probably may have had an opportunity of completing, as the Wilberforce has done, from the crews of merchant ships touching at Ascension.

The Soudan is laid up at Fernando Po, under the care of black ship keepers, and is equally efficient in point of hull and engines and general equipment, but she has only belonging to her, besides the commander, a lieutenant, second master, one engineer, and one seaman, who are now at Ascension, the remainder having died or been invalided, and she is not to complete her complement till further orders from England.

It may be assumed that the Albert and Wilberforce have enough hands to bring them to England, and probably might spare a few white men to lend to the Soudan, were their Lordships to order the three vessels home; and in that case all the Kroomen of the Expedition, with the exception of a few which it might be necessary to retain in the Soudan for the passage to England, might be discharged at Ascension, in order to be conveyed to Sierra Leone by the first opportunity; excepting also a few black stokers, whom it may be advisable to take to England as alluded to hereafter.

There are no mates now belonging to the steam-vessels; and as in the late promotion, so considerately bestowed by their Lordships on several officers of the Expedition, Mr. Fairholme, mate of the Albert, was promoted to the half-pay list of lieutenants, I would submit the propriety of appointing him an additional lieutenant of the Albert to do duty coming home, for which he would be quite equal, although the severe illness which he had up the river makes it very inadvisable that he should return to the coast.

Should the Albert and Wilberforce be ordered home, it would be advisable that they should not arrive in the winter months, for being flat-bottomed, they are very leewardly in spite of their sliding keels, and having also a very small horse power, they would be in considerable danger if exposed to a gale of wind and a lee shore on making theland.

The Soudan being equally flat-bottomed with the others, and still more leewardly, ought also to come home before winter, and would require to be convoyed by another vessel as she was on her passage out. Indeed Commander Bird Allen was of opinion that she ought not to be sent alone even from the coast of Africa to Ascension, and he had good opportunities of judging of her qualities as a sea-boat.

In justice to Mr. Laird, the builder of the vessels, I must observe that it is their peculiar form (which was intended, and is very suitable for river navigation) and not any deficiency of strength which makes me doubt the propriety of their being ordered home at any but the summer season. The hulls and engines, on the contrary, have proved most excellent, and at the time of my leaving the coast were in want of no repairs whatever.

It would be desirable to send out a small supply of coals to the western islands for the use of the steam-vessels on their passage home.

Should their Lordships determine to send one of the steamers up the Niger to communicate with the Amelia tender and the people at the model farm, I would respectfully submit the

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following propositions for their Lordships' consideration; namely,—That instructions be given to the senior officer of the Expedition to select the vessel which he may deem most suitable for the purpose, and direct the commander to take the fewest possible number of white officers and men up the river. These not to exceed on any account three executive officers (including the commander), two medical officers, three engineers, two stokers (but black ones if they can be had, which is probable), and three seamen or marines, all being volunteers, selected from those whose constitutions are judged to be most adapted to the climate. The other white officers and men to be kept outside the river, and the crew to be completed by an additional number of Kroomen at the discretion of the commander.

A vessel of the West African squadron might be ordered to anchor off the mouth of the Nun to receive the whites left behind, and to remain there during the stay of the steam-vessel up the river, which need scarcely exceed a fortnight if the Soudan went up, and would occupy about two days less if one of the other vessels should be selected, allowing in either case a stay of 36 hours after joining the Amelia.

The Soudan might be the proper vessel for going up the river, provided arrangements could be made to complete her supply of coals at the mouth (as was done before); but as it is doubtful whether this could be conveniently effected again, the probability is that it will be necessary for the Albert or Wilberforce to be sent up, for in making the passage from Fernando Po to the mouth of the Niger in July or August (the proper months for ascending the river, but during which there is often very bad weather), the Soudan might possibly expend all her coal by the time she entered the river, and her passage up would in that case be considerably prolonged by having to stop to get wood, whereas the Albert and Wilberforce having greater speed and greater stowage for coal in proportion to the expenditure, would reach the Amelia without any detention for want of fuel.

If however it should be thought more convenient to send the Soudan up the river, she might be towed to the mouth by one of the other steamers, or by the Pluto, if she is still on the station, and might then be filled up with coal and join the Amelia, without stopping to cut wood. On her coming down the river she might return to Fernando Po for coals and stores, and afterwards, if she were required at Sierra Leone or the Gambia, where the services of a steamer would often be acceptable, she might easily get along the coast by stopping occasionally to cut fuel, and in the following summer would be nearer England if that were her ultimate destination.

If it should be a matter of indifference in other respects whether the Albert or Wilberforce were sent up, the Albert might be preferred, as some of her tanks were left at the model farm, in order to lighten her, and the Wilberforce having a few inches less depth of hold would not be able to take them on board; there is no other reason for preferring one ship to the other, both being of similar dimensions and alike in every other respect.

I may here state that the Amelia, which was left for the defence of the people at the model farm, and is at anchor nearly opposite to the confluence of the Niger and the Tchadda, is a vessel of about 80 tons, iron fastened, and badly found as to stores and sails, and her coppers are in a bad state. The only sails upon which she could depend were borrowed from the Soudan, which would again require them if ordered to England; otherwise, if she had a refit, she might be usefully employed either in removing to Ascension any stores belonging to the expedition which are still at Fernando Po and not required there, or in taking the Kroomen back to Sierra Leone; but as the making them efficient would probably be attended with much expense and inconvenience, I would suggest that the senior officer of the Expedition have power to sell her if an opportunity offer.

Before leaving Fernando Po, finding that store-house rent was necessarily very heavy there, and that many stores had received injury from the humidity of the climate, I directed Commander Fishbourne, if he had an opportunity of hiring a vessel on reasonable terms (which it was not unlikely would be the case) to send all spare provisions and stores, including some coals, to Ascension, where they would be relieved from the charge of rent and be kept in better preservation.

Until the arrival of the Albert at Ascension, Commander Allen would not be able to inform their Lordships of the quantity of provisions and stores required to be sent from England; but a communication to that effect may be daily expected. In the mean time, I may say generally that should the three steam vessels be ordered home at once, no stores of any kind will be required from England, though, should a short trip up the river be made by one of the steamers, she may probably require a few wrought-iron fire bars for the furnaces, and some oil and tow for the engines.

A list of the officers now serving in the steam-vessels is annexed to this report, and marked A, but I am sorry to say that, with the exception of Lieutenant Strange, I know of no officer who has not suffered, and generally very severely, from the effects of the climate.

In my letter to their Lordships of the 25th of October, from Fernando Po, I mentioned that the fever which attacked the Expedition was one of no ordinary degree of severity, but the great numbers that were taken ill, amounting to about 154 white persons out of 162, is a still more remarkable circumstance, and it is the opinion of Dr. M'William, the surgeon of the Albert, that very few of the sick would have survived had they not been removed to the sea. The mortality, as it was, proved very great, amounting to 43, or more than one-fourth of the whole; the extreme and protracted debility of those who have recovered has also been very unusual.

The list marked B, appended to this report, shows the number that had died in each vessel up to November 27th, when I left Africa.

As none of the engineers of the vessels would probably be fit to go up the river again, even if they wished it, excepting Mr. Cross, acting third engineer of the Albert, lately a stoker in

the Pluto, and as he has not had much experience, I would suggest that at least two engineers should be allowed to volunteer, and be sent out from this country, and also six stokers, to supply the place of the present temporary black stokers, although, if any of the latter wished to return with the vessels to England, it would be advisable to allow them to do so when they would be ready to join any steamer hereafter ordered to Africa.

Before closing this report, I beg to state that Mr. Jamieson, of Liverpool, the owner of the Ethiope steamer, whose commander, Captain Beecroft, rendered the Albert so much assistance in her descent of the Niger, has very generously offered the services of that gentleman, should their Lordships wish to employ him in the exploration of the rivers of Africa, and I know of no one so calculated to be of use in this respect, whether I regard his temper and talents, his integrity, the influence which he acquires over the minds of the natives of Africa, or the fitness of his constitution for the climate; but as Mr. Jamieson has no one else to whom he considers he could entrust the charge of his steamer, he has intimated that he cannot dispense with Mr. Beecroft's services, unless the Ethiope be taken off his hands. I may remark that the Ethiope, having greater speed than our vessels, would be a very suitable vessel to ascend the Niger, and she has a black engineer, whose services might perhaps be retained.

I annex a letter which I have received from Mr. Jamieson, giving the dimensions and other particulars of the Ethiope.

I have omitted to mention a suggestion of Commander William Allen, in one of his late letters from Ascension, where he appears to have been prosecuting magnetical observations with great assiduity. He suggests that before the steam-vessels return to England he be allowed to proceed in one of them to the east coast of South America, for the purpose of carrying on magnetical observations in that country; and as he has had some experience in surveying, and is already supplied with many valuable magnetic and surveying instruments, it may be worthy of the consideration of their Lordships whether he might not be advantageously employed in the way he suggests, as well as in connexion with the hydrographical department.

Lieutenant Sidney, of the Wilberforce, one of the assistant surveyors of the Expedition, would be an able assistant to Commander Allen.

I would only further observe, that should their Lordships intend to employ men-of-war steamers on the west African station, the Albert, Wilberforce, and Soudan are particularly well calculated, by their small draught of water, for entering the rivers, which they could do at all times, and as they might be kept very light if stationed between the rivers Gambia and Gallinas, where they would always have supplies near at hand, namely at Sierra Leone, they would have sufficient speed to come up at most seasons with any slave vessel they might chase outside.

I allude particularly to that part of the coast, because great mortality has occasionally occurred in the rivers in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone and the Gambia, by sending away boat crews in search of slave vessels, a practice which need not be continued if such steamers were employed; and I may add that little coal would be required, as wood is abundant in the rivers, and Kroomen might be kept permanently on shore to cut it, and keep up a constant supply.

(Signed) H. D. Trotter, Captain R. N.

London, 15th March, 1842.

(A.)—List of Officers belonging to the Vessels of the Niger Expedition.

Rating.	Albert.		Wilberforce.		Soudan.	
	No. allowed.	Names.	No. allowed.	Names.	No. allowed.	Names.
Captain	1	H. D. Trotter (in England.)	..	. .	..	. .
Commander	..	. .	1	W. Allen	1	E. G. Fishbourne (in charge of Albert)
Lieutenants	2	J. N. Strange W. H. Webb	2	H. C. Toby F. W. Sidney	1	W. Ellis. . .
Master	1	W. Forster	1	W. H. J. Green (acting.)	1	None.
Second Master	1	None		. .	..	— Anderson (acting in lieu of Mate.)
Mates	4	None	4	None	3	None.
Surgeon	1	J. O. M'William	1	M. Pritchett	1	J. R. H. Thomson (acting.)
Assistant Surgeon	2	None	2	J. Sterling	1	None.
Purser	1	W. Bowden	1	W. R. Bush (acting.)	..	. .
Clerk	2	R. Mouat (acting)	1	J. H. R. Webb	1	None.
Chaplain	1	T. Müller (acting)	..	. .	..	. .
Gunner	1	None	..	. .	..	. .
Engineer, 1st class	1	J. Langley	1	W. Johnstone	1	G. V. Gustaffson.
„ 2d class	2	None	2	G. Garritte	..	. .
„ 3d class	..	— Cross (acting)		J. Graystock	1	None.

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(B.)—NUMBER of DEATHS amongst the White Crews of the Steam-Vessels, caused by the Climate of the Niger.

	Albert.			Wilberforce.			Soudan.			Total.
	Officers.	Men.	Total.	Officers.	Men.	Total.	Officers.	Men.	Total.	
River Fever . .	7	12	19	1	5	6	5	8	13	38
Effect of Climate .	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
	7	15	22	1	5	6	5	8	13	41

No. 37.

COPY of a LETTER from JAMES STEPHEN, Esq. to Sir JOHN BARROW, Bart.

Sir, Downing-street, 30th March, 1842.

No. 37. HAVING laid before Lord Stanley your letter of the 23d instant, with the report therein enclosed from Captain Trotter on the condition of the vessels of the Niger Expedition, I am directed to request that you will state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that it is not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to renew that Expedition, but that it may be desirable to communicate, in the course of the ensuing summer, with the model farm or settlement recently established on the banks of the Niger, and to afford to the persons left there the means of coming away, should they be so disposed. A single vessel, however, will, in Lord Stanley's opinion, be sufficient for that purpose, and it should be manned, as far as possible, exclusively by black or coloured men. At all events, his Lordship hopes that the number of white officers and men which Captain Trotter mentions as desirable for manning such vessel may be considerably reduced.

It will rest chiefly with the Lords Commissioners to consider that officer's proposal to purchase the merchant steamer Ethiope for this purpose, in preference to employing either of the vessels engaged in the late Expedition. If their Lordships should recommend that measure with a view to the efficient and economical discharge of the public service, his Lordship would, on his part, be prepared to recommend the arrangement for the sanction of the Board of Treasury. Captain Becroft's experience of the coast and river, and his apparent power of resisting the effects of the climate of Africa, are certainly strong recommendations in his favour; and the circumstance of the Ethiope having a black engineer is not to be overlooked.

As to the disposal of Her Majesty's steamers Albert, Wilberforce, and Soudan, Lord Stanley does not feel himself called upon to offer any opinion, further than to call the attention of the Lords Commissioners to the alleged peculiar fitness of those vessels for coast-service in Africa, and to state that the plan of closely watching and entering the mouths of the different rivers by armed steamers, with a view to the suppression of the Slave Trade, is a measure which seems to have been very successful, and which his Lordship would wish to see persevered in vigorously and efficiently. I am to add, that it appears to Lord Stanley to be extremely desirable that an early decision should be taken as to the purchase of the Ethiope, and the employment of the other vessels, and that his Lordship would wish to be furnished with an estimate of the expence of the proposed arrangement.

The nature of the instructions to be given to the officer who may be selected to proceed up the river to the model farm will form the subject of consideration hereafter. For the present, Lord Stanley would only observe that the employment of that officer should be confined to the single object of communicating with the settlement, unless the state of health of the party should be unusually good and circumstances favourable, in which case his Lordship would not object to an attempt being made to open a communication with Rabbah.

I have, &c.

Sir John Barrow, Bart. (Signed) JAMES STEPHEN.
&c. &c.

No. 38.

(No. 1.)

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord STANLEY to HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER.

Gentlemen, Downing-street, 11th November, 1841.

No. 38.

REFERRING to the instructions with which you have been furnished by Lord John Russell, under date of the 30th of January last, for your guidance in the conduct of the mission entrusted to you, I have Her Majesty's commands to desire you to consider yourselves prohibited from concluding any treaty or agreement with any African Chief or Chiefs which should have the effect of binding Her Majesty to give military aid to such Chiefs, or to assume any right of sovereignty or of protection over any portion of the soil or waters of Africa. Cases may occur (I hardly think it possible they should) in which it may be deemed advisable ultimately that Her Majesty should enter into such an engagement. But I repeat, that in no case are you to take any step which may fetter the discretion of the Queen's Government. If at any time application should be made to you to place an African Chief or his territory under the sovereignty or protection of the Queen, the utmost to be done, and that most sparingly, and in instances of extreme urgency, should be to forward such application to Her Majesty's Government, but independently and irrespectively of any other terms of treaty or agreement.

I am, &c.

Her Majesty's Commissioners, (Signed) STANLEY.
&c. &c. &c.

No. 39.

(No. 6.)

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord STANLEY.

Her Majesty's Steamer Wilberforce, Cape Coast Castle,

My Lord, 29th March, 1842.

No. 39.

WE have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's Despatch, No. 1, of the 11th November, 1841, containing a prohibition from concluding any treaty or agreement with any African Chiefs which may have the effect of binding Her Majesty to give military aid to such Chiefs, or to assume any right of sovereignty or of protection over any portion of the soil or waters of Africa, &c. We beg leave to assure your Lordship that these instructions shall be strictly attended to.

Her Majesty's steam-vessel Wilberforce arrived here on the evening of the 20th, and the officers having completed some magnetical observations, she sails this day with the crew in good health for Fernando Po, in order to complete the preparations for the Niger. In the meantime we anxiously hope to receive your Lordship's instructions.

We have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM ALLEN, W. COOK, } Commissioners.

The Right Hon. Lord Stanley,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 40.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Captain TROTTER, R.N., to G. W. HOPE, Esq.

Sir, 12, Old Quebec-street, 1st April, 1842.

No. 40.

AGREEABLY to your request, I beg to offer some suggestions upon various points which I conceive will require Lord Stanley's consideration previous to a vessel-of-war being again sent up the Niger.

The officer in charge of the steam-vessel will have to be made acquainted with the determination of Her Majesty's Government as to the ratification, in whole or in part, of the Treaties made at Abòh and Iddah last year, and must receive corresponding instructions to guide his conduct.

A conditional bargain was made with the Attah of Egaria at Iddah in September, 1841, for the purchase of a portion of land for the Queen, for which cowries, amounting in value to about 8*l*., were paid at the time by the Commissioners as a security

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for the purchase ; and it was stipulated that, if the land were retained as the property of Her Majesty (a point which it was agreed should be decided before September, 1842), a further payment of 27*l.* should be made to the Attah, either in cowries or goods, in September, 1842; or, if more convenient, by annual instalments not exceeding five.

If Her Majesty's Government determine to retain this land, I would suggest that the remainder of the payment be made at once, as it may be inconvenient to send up the river annually.

The sovereignty of this land was offered to the Queen as a free gift, with the option of accepting it or not at any period prior to September, 1846. The land, however, may be retained without sovereignty. The officer who proceeds up the river will, therefore, have to be instructed how to act with regard to this matter.

It was part of this land which the Commissioners permitted the superintendent of the model farm to cultivate on paying a nominal rent of one penny per acre.

I would suggest that the officer have authority to make presents to the King of Abòh to the amount of about 25*l.*, or half the value of the presents given to the Chief when he made the Treaty last year ; and that the value of about 50*l.* be given to the Attah of Egarra. The latter Chief declared that, of the presents made to him last year, amounting in value to about 100*l.*, he would have to give a great proportion to his subsidiary Chiefs; and I have no doubt the King of Abòh would to a certain degree be under the same obligation.

The commanding officer of the steam-vessel might be left to his discretion in making presents to minor Chiefs and other persons, according to their importance, being guided by the proportions above named.

The Chiefs should be made fully to understand that the presents are given in proof of the Queen's approbation of the Treaties entered into last year, the officer being instructed to take especial care not to involve the Government by giving the Chiefs reason to expect any further gifts from the Queen; nor to create any impediments to future trade by giving presents without due consideration.

If the Commission of the Niger be broken up, it will be necessary to recal the two Commissioners who remain abroad, directing Captain William Allen to come home as soon as he is released from his naval duties, and Mr. Cook by the earliest opportunity; also Dr. M'William, the surgeon of the Commissioners; Mr. Bowden, the secretary; Mr. Müller, the chaplain; and Messrs. Terry and Simpson, clerks, as soon as their naval duties, if they have any, will permit.

Lieutenant (now Commander) Strange, of the Albert, is the only executive officer of the Expedition who escaped the Niger fever, and he is therefore the individual who may, in all probability, be appointed to proceed up in command of the steamer which may be ordered for that particular service. I may, therefore, remark that, should Lord Stanley consider it advisable to invest him with power to continue the negotiations with the native Chiefs, his talents, zeal, and judgment render him peculiarly qualified for the appointment.

Captain Allen's health would not permit of his going up the river again ; but I understand Mr. Cook is both well enough in health, and quite willing to be employed again as a Commissioner, either up the Niger or on the coast.

As the instructions to the Commissioners of the Niger Expedition direct them to treat with Chiefs residing on or near the sea coast, within the Bights of Benin and Biafra, I would beg to call the attention of Lord Stanley to the propriety of making a Treaty now, or at some future time, with King Boy, of the Brass country, a Chief who has considerable influence on the Niger, between Abòh and the mouth of the Nun. His residence (Brass town) is situated on a creek in the Delta, about 30 miles eastward of the mouth of the Nun, and a few miles only from the sea. The Commissioners, last year, were not fortunate enough to fall in with this Chief, though they sent a message to him, and received a reply, stating he could not then visit them; but the next steam-vessel that goes up the Niger is very likely to meet with him, and the commanding officer might in that case be instructed to propose a Treaty to him for the suppression of the Slave Trade, which might either be concluded at once, or afterwards by the senior officer on the west coast. The latter will soon have to communicate with the Chief at Bonny, whose late Treaty with this country requires to be modified or corrected; and an arrangement could easily be made to form a Treaty with King Boy at the same time.

A sincere adherence of these two Chiefs to their Treaties would, in connexion with those lately made up the Niger, present a formidable barrier to the prosecution

of the Slave Trade on that part of the coast. Presents to the amount of 100*l.* a-year for five years would be well bestowed on the Chief of the Brass country, if he could be induced to enter into such a Treaty; but probably much less would suffice. 400*l.* a-year for five years has been, or is about to be, offered to the King of Bonny.

I alluded, in my letter to you of the 30th of March, to the propriety of sending out orders to Captain William Allen to arrange with Captain Foote, of the Madagascar, senior officer on the west coast, about keeping the remainder of the presents at Ascension. They would there be ready to send to Bonny and Cameroons, where an annual payment to the Chiefs is likely to be required for some years. I would only further observe, that Mr. Cook might be instructed to send home to the Colonial-office a list of all the presents that remain unappropriated, and of all the books belonging to the Colonial-office, as Captain Allen's time will be much occupied in making numerous naval arrangements previous to returning home.

In my letter to you of the 20th of March, I also suggested, for Lord Stanley's consideration, the propriety of giving over the duplicates of any of the colonial books to the commandant of the garrison at Ascension. To this letter I beg to refer you.

I have, &c.

G. W. Hope, Esq., &c. &c. &c. (Signed) H. D. TROTTER, Captain R.N.

No. 41.

COPY of a LETTER from JAMES STEPHEN, Esq. to Sir JOHN BARROW, Bart.

Sir, Downing-street, 13th April, 1842.

No. 41. 1 April. *Vide* p. 57.

I AM directed by Lord Stanley to transmit to you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a letter which has been received at this office from Captain Trotter, on the subject of the operations which it may hereafter be necessary to undertake in furtherance of some of the objects of the late Expedition to the Niger. In the uncertainty under which Lord Stanley at present labours as to the course which may have been, or which may be taken, by the surviving officers of the Expedition, who are still on the coast of Africa, or in its vicinity, it is not in his Lordship's power to draw up any definite instructions for the guidance of those officers, nor even to determine to what particular person any such instructions, if prepared, would most properly be addressed. To obviate, however, as far as possible any misconception of the views of Her Majesty's Government on the subject to which Captain Trotter has adverted, Lord Stanley has prepared the accompanying Minute, and directs me to request that you will move the Lords Commissioners to avail themselves of the earliest opportunity which may offer for transmitting a copy of it to the officer in charge of the vessels, and in command of the survivors of the Expedition, with instructions to him to consider that Minute as affording the general rules for his guidance, until more complete and specific instructions shall reach him.

I have, &c.

Sir John Barrow, Bart. &c. &c. (Signed) JAMES STEPHEN.

Enclosure in No. 41.

A MINUTE explanatory of the general views of Her Majesty's Government, regarding the further prosecution of the original design with which the Expedition to the Niger was undertaken.

Lord Stanley's Minute, 13 April, 1841.

Encl. in No. 41.

IT being necessary to adopt some final decision as to the further proceedings to be taken in reference to the objects of the late Expedition to the Niger, and it being impossible in our present defective state of information regarding the recent proceedings of Commander Allen and Commissioner Cook, to state with precision the course which they ought now to pursue, I think it right to record in general what are the conclusions adopted by Her Majesty's Government on this subject.

RIVER NIGER.

1. It is to be distinctly understood that the Expedition is at an end, that all the officers and men are to return to this country with the utmost practicable despatch, and that the vessels, and their equipments and cargoes, are to be disposed of in such a manner as the Lords of the Admiralty may direct in furtherance of any other branch of the public service, which is under their Lordship's administration. This general statement is to be understood as qualified by the communication addressed by my directions to the Secretary of the Lords of the Admiralty, for their Lordships' information, on the 30th, and by the remaining paragraphs of this Minute.

2. In accordance with that communication, one of the two Commissioners of the Expedition who are still on the coast, viz., Commander Allen or Mr. Cook, will proceed up the Niger, for the purpose of communicating with the model farm, and there decide on behalf of the proprietors of that establishment, whether it is to be continued or not.

3. If the farm should be found in so prosperous a condition, that with a probability of succeeding in the cultivation of cotton, or any other grounds, the settlers should desire to remain, the Commissioner may, if he think fit, authorize them to do so, on behalf of and as representing the subscribers to the farm, and in this case he may station the Amelia tender, at the confluence of the Tchadda and Quorra, for the defence of the settlers, as well as the galley left there last year by Captain Trotter.

4. Should the health of the party on board the steam-boat be unusually good, and circumstances fevourable on the arrival of the vessel at the model farm, Lord Stanley would not object to an attempt being made to open a communication with Rabbah, but the propriety of such an attempt being made is left to the discretion of the Commissioner, and it must be distinctly understood that he is not authorized to attempt to proceed beyond that place.

5. As it has been represented that some settlers at the model farm may wish to remain there for the purpose of securing their crops, the Commissioner may consider himself authorized to undertake that one of Her Majesty's vessels shall remain off the Nun for a limited period, to be agreed upon between the Commissioner and the settlers, for the purpose of receiving these settlers after they shall have gathered their crops, and the senior naval officer on the station will give the necessary orders accordingly.

6. If, on the other hand, the settlers should be in an unfavourable position, and desirous of removing themselves from the Niger, the Commissioner is authorized to bring them and their property away.

7. Supposing, however, that these instructions shall not reach the hands of Commander Allen or of Mr. Cook, previously to either of them having ascended the Niger, as according to the last accounts received from Commander Allen he was about to do, they are not in this case to consider themselves authorized to return to the model farm, as if the settlers have not availed themselves of that opportunity of coming away, Her Majesty's Government is not prepared to advise the expense and risk of life which would be consequent on a second Expedition in the same year.

8. Supposing, on the other hand, that the officer carrying out the present instructions is unable to find the Commissioners, or to obtain any account of their proceedings, he should in this case repair to the senior naval officer on the coast, and deliver the instructions to him, to whose discretion it must be left according to the information of which he may be in possession, to take such measures as he may judge proper for carrying them into effect.

9. It will be the duty of the Commissioners, if they receive the present instructions, or of the senior naval officer on the coast, if it devolves on him to act on the instructions, to take advantage of a convenient opportunity for acquainting Obi Ossai, the Chief of the Eboe country, that Her Majesty confirms and ratifies the Treaty entered into by him with the Commissioners of the Niger Expedition on the 28th of August, 1841, and that being firmly resolved to execute that Treaty strictly, so far as depends on Her Majesty, Her Majesty relies on Obi Ossai's exact and faithful observance of the obligations which he has by that Treaty contracted. A similar communication is to be made to Ochejah Attah of Egarra, in respect of the Treaty concluded by him with the Commissioners on the 6th of September, 1841, which Her Majesty is pleased to approve and ratify, with the exception of the second and third Additional Articles, on the ground that Her Majesty declines to accept the sovereignty of any territory in Central Africa, or any proprietary interest in any land which the Attah has agreed to cede to Her Majesty. The officer making these communications to Obi Ossai and Ochejah is to consider himself empowered to make presents to the former to the amount of about £25, and to the latter to the amount of about £50; and to minor Chiefs and other persons according to their importance presents of less amount. Those to whom such presents may be made should be given clearly to understand that they are so made as expressive of Her Majesty's approbation of their conduct towards the Expedition sent by Her Majesty last year up the Niger, and of the readiness with which they acquiesced in the proposal made to them in Her Majesty's behalf.

The Chiefs should, however, be distinctly apprized that they have no further gifts to expect from Her Majesty, and the utmost care must be taken that the presents are not bestowed in such a manner as would impede, rather than promote the natural growth and progress of trade, by exciting hopes that commodities can hereafter be obtained, on any other terms than the delivery of a fair equivalent for them.

(No. 7.)

No. 42.

COPY of a DESPATCH from HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER to Lord STANLEY.

Her Majesty's Steamer Wilberforce, Bimbia,
near Fernando Po, 19th May, 1842.

My Lord,

No. 42.

HAVING had about a month to spare, while waiting for the proper time for re-entering the Niger, or for your Lordship's instructions, I considered it necessary for the preservation of the health of the crews of Her Majesty's vessels under my command to move about in preference to remaining at Fernando Po, and to take this opportunity of obtaining information on some points alluded to in the instructions from my Lords of the Admiralty.

With these objects I proceeded to the river Cameroons, where I learnt, in conversation with the Chiefs Bell and Aqua, that it had been the practice to sacrifice a human being on the death of a Chief, and although, from the great intercourse with Europeans, this appears to be falling into disuse, yet there exist no positive obligations to prevent its recurrence.

I therefore deemed it advisable, though without the benefit of the assistance of my colleague, who preferred remaining at Fernando Po, to conclude an agreement which should abolish for ever that inhuman custom.

The young Chief A'Lobah (King Bell) assured me, that on the death of his grandfather, his father had made war on the "Bush people" for the express purpose of killing some one, and on the death of his own father, A'Lobah hung up the *broken pitchers* in the Fetish house, whence they could not be removed, nor could he shave his head, until he had complied with the custom of the country. This ought to have been done within the year, but he had happily been too much engaged in lawful trade. He readily assented to the truth of my arguments, which his people also listened to with satisfaction, and in proof of sincerity he at once removed the *broken pitchers*, and promised to build a new house upon the spot.

The other Chief, Gandoh, (King Aqua,) is an old man, and has been trading with the English all his life. He required no inducements to abandon what he acknowledged to be a bad practice. However, in order to strengthen his good disposition, and to bind his son, I entered into a similar agreement with him, and gave him the same presents as I had to King Bell, which will prevent jealousy, though they were but trifling in amount.

Your Lordship will perceive that these agreements are of little importance in themselves, as I believe that the Chiefs are now so fully occupied with the palm oil trade, that they will defer of necessity the consummation of these barbarous rites until they probably will be discontinued and forgotten; but, as I had an opportunity of penetrating a little way into the interior, on the river of Cameroons, and as I spoke to the people there of the possibility of the steamer going up at a future time for the most pacific and friendly purposes, the report of such an agreement having been made will, I think, have the effect of preparing a favourable reception, since those people whom I visited are, I believe, the sufferers in the wars consequent on the death of a Chief.

At Bimbia, the same custom has prevailed, but as the Chief has made over his right of sovereignty to the Crown of England, through Colonel Nicolls, although I do not know whether it has been accepted, I would do no more than exhort him earnestly to abandon the practice, which he readily promised. Indeed, he denied the existence of it, but I learned from some of his own people, as well as from King Bell at Cameroons, that he was desirous of making war to sacrifice to the *manes* of his brother Kuanèh. The head men of the neighbouring villages expressed their gratification at the prospect of the extinction of this custom, of which they all acknowledge the injustice, if even they are insensible to its barbarity.

It is, my Lord, much to be deplored, that the long intercourse which the Europeans have had with the Africans has but tended to increase their innate avidity for gain, while the white merchants who have succeeded to the Slave-dealers, in order to protect themselves from fraud and extortion, frequently have recourse to arbitrary measures, which are as repugnant to all principles of justice as they must be to those of good policy. A mutual reaction of evil is thus induced, and on it has been based a system which must be not only an effectual bar to the introduction of civilization, but must bring the parties into continual collision. I would there-

RIVER NIGER.

fore take the liberty of respectfully suggesting to your Lordship that, the natives having arrived at that point where lawful trade has become a necessity, the interference of Government would be very salutary, on the one hand, in establishing such simple regulations as, without throwing any impediment in the way of trade, may afford protection to the merchants against the extortion of the natives, and enable them to recover their just debts, and on the other hand, may protect the natives against arbitrary proceedings on the part of the whites, by preventing the necessity of having recourse to them.

I would further beg leave to observe, that the natives of the two principal towns of the Cameroons, having already made some advance in civilization, and in worldly knowledge, it would now seem to be a fitting time for the introduction of that knowledge which is necessary for their eternal welfare. I therefore believe that a judicious missionary would find, in that country, a fair field for his ministry. Indeed, A'Lobah (King Bell) assured me that he would afford a kind reception and protection if one would settle at his town and teach his people.

Some fresh cases of fever having occurred in the Wilberforce, I hastened to the Bay of Amboises, where the comparative salubrity of the climate soon restored them to health. I had it in command from the Admiralty to examine this locality as to its eligibility for an agricultural establishment. I shall send a report on the subject to my Lords, accompanied by fuller details and plans to their hydrographer. I would also take the liberty of pointing out to your Lordship the very great importance of this place in every point of view, especially if we have not possession of Fernando Po. I consider the mountain of Cameroons, which rises from this bay, together with several islands adjacent to it, as possessing most of the advantages of that beautiful island, with others in addition, especially in respect of salubrity. It has been considered in favour of Fernando Po that it is an island, but I would take leave to say, that one of the principal objects in the formation of a settlement in Africa being the spread of civilization and the extinction of the Slave Trade, if the immense variety which this noble mountain presents in climate, soil, and productions, should prove favourable to the establishment of any colony, these objects will be more readily secured by the intercourse which obtains to a considerable extent among the neighbouring nations, With regard to the safety of the settlers, there are several positions in the bay, and on the islands, which might be rendered impregnable.

In fact, I consider, my Lord, that no place on the West Coast of Africa presents so many advantages as the Bay of Amboises. I might have purchased the two islands in it called Mòndoleh and Damèh, but I found that the West African Company, some years ago, made an agreement for the territory called Amboises. As, however, the designation in this agreement is of a vague nature, and as the whole of the purchase-money has not been paid, it perhaps may be considered as null and void, though an arrangement might easily be made with both parties; and I will venture to remind your Lordship, that the sovereignty of the whole of this splendid country, that is to say, the south-west base of the Cameroons mountain, has been offered to the British Government through Colonel Nicolls, by the present Chief, who calls himself King William, and who is, I believe, the legitimate sovereign.

I beg leave to enclose the triplicates of the agreements which I have concluded with the two Chiefs of Cameroons.

I have the satisfaction of being able to state that there is no sickness of any kind in either the Soudan or Wilberforce.

I have, &c.

WILLIAM ALLEN,
Commissioner and Acting Captain.

The Right Hon. Lord Stanley,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 42.

Encl. in No. 42.

AN Agreement between William Allen Esq., Acting Captain of Her Majesty's steam-vessel Albert, in command of Wilberforce, Senior Officer and the only Commissioner present of the Niger Expedition, on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, on one part, and A'Lobah, one of the two Chiefs of Dualla, commonly called King Bell, of Bell's Town, Cameroons, on the other part.

Whereas it appears, by the acknowledgment of A'Lobah, Chief of Dualla, commonly called King Bell, of Bell's Town, Cameroons, that it has formerly been the practice in the country of

Dualla, or Cameroons, to sacrifice a human being on the death of a Chief, and whereas, on the explanation by Captain Allen of the evil tendency of such a practice in all its bearings, the said Chief has declared his conviction of the truth and justice of these arguments, and his regret that they have never been explained to him before,—

He, the aforesaid A'Lobah, Chief of Dualla, (King Bell of Cameroons,) freely agrees and declares—

That from the signing of this Agreement, no human being whatever shall be sacrificed on account of religious or other ceremonies or customs.

And so we, William Allen, and A'Lobah, Chief of Dualla, (King Bell, of Bell's Town, Cameroons,) have made this Agreement, and have signed it on board Her Majesty's steam-vessel Wilberforce, off Bell's Town, river Cameroons, this 10th day of May, 1842, and this Agreement shall stand for ever.

WILLIAM ALLEN, Captain (Acting) and Commissioner.

A'LOBAH KING BELL, his × mark } Chief of Dualla of Cameroons.

Witnesses to the Signatures,
W. H. WEBB, Acting Lieutenant.
M. PRITCHETT, M.D.

AN Agreement between William Allen, Esq., Acting Captain of Her Majesty's steam-vessel Albert, in command of Wilberforce, Senior Officer and the only Commissioner present of the Niger Expedition, on behalf of Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, on one part, and Gandoh, one of the two Chiefs of Dualla, commonly called King Aqua, of Aqua's Town, Cameroons, on the other part.

Whereas it appears by the acknowledgment of Gandoh, one of the two Chiefs of Dualla, commonly called King Aqua, of Aqua's Town, Cameroons, that it has formerly been the practice in the country of Dualla, or Cameroons, to sacrifice a human being on the death of a Chief, and although Gandoh is fully sensible of the evil tendency of such a practice, and believes it to have fallen into disuse, yet, as no positive obligations exist to prevent the recurrence of it,—

Therefore the aforesaid Gandoh, Chief of Dualla, (King Aqua of Cameroons,) freely agrees and declares—

From and after the signing of this Agreement, no human being whatever shall be scrificed on occasion of religious or other ceremonies or customs, and that he will command his son not to perform such sacrifice at his death.

And so we, William Allen, and Gandoh, Chief of Dualla, (King Aqua, of Aqua's Town, Cameroons,) have made this Agreement, and have signed it on board Her Majesty's steam-vessel Wilberforce, this 11th day of May, 1842, and this Agreement shall stand for ever.

WILLIAM ALLEN, Captain (Acting) and Commissioner.

GANDOH KING AQUA, his × mark. } Chief of Dualla of Cameroons.

Witnesses to the Signatures.
W. H. WEBB, Acting Lieutenant.
M. PRITCHETT, M.D.

(No. 3.)

No. 43.

EXTRACT of a DESPATCH from Lord STANLEY to HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS of the EXPEDITION to the NIGER, dated Downing-street, 31st August, 1842.

No. 43.

I HAVE received the despatch of your colleague Captain Allen, numbered 7, and dated the 19th of May last, covering Agreements dated the 10th and 11th of that month respectively, into which he has entered with A'Lobah, commonly called King Bell, of Bell's Town, Cameroons, and Gandoh, commonly called King Aqua, of Aqua's Town, Cameroons, by which those Chiefs have formally renounced the practice of sacrificing human beings; and I have to acquaint you, and desire you will equally inform those Chiefs, that having laid the said Agreements before the Queen, Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to confirm and ratify the same.

RIVER NIGER.

No. 44.

(No. 8.) No. 44.

Copy of a DESPATCH from Captain Allen to Lord Stanley.

My Lord, Devonport, 5th Sept., 1842.

I have the honour to report to you, that I was about to proceed again up the Niger with Her Majesty's steam-vessels Wilberforce and Soudan, when the Kite arrived at Fernando Po, on the 24th June, bringing despatches from your Lordship, and from the Admiralty.

Having become acquainted with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government, I lost no time in carrying them into effect. I despatched the Wilberforce up the river, agreeably to your Lordship's wishes, manned by a black crew, and a limited number of officers, viz., one lieutenant, one assistant surgeon, one clerk in charge, two warrant officers, and three engineers, who very handsomely volunteered from the Expedition. I towed the Wilberforce to the mouth of the river, in the Kite, and saw her safely cross the bar, on 2nd July; I enclose a copy of my instructions to Lieutenant Webb. I then ordered the commander of the Kite to receive on board the remaining officers and men of the Expedition, and to proceed at once to England.

I have now the satisfaction of announcing to your Lordship that we arrived at this port, all well, on the 2nd instant.

I beg leave to apologize, my Lord, for an apparent remissness, in not having reported my arrival to you immediately.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM ALLEN, Captain, and only Commissioner present.

The Right Hon. Lord Stanley,
&c. &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 44.

(Copy.)

William Allen, Captain and Commissioner.

Her Majesty's Steamer Wilberforce, Clarence Cove,
Sir, Fernando Po, 29th June, 1842.

Enci. in No. 44.

Her Majesty's Government having declared that the Niger Expedition is at an end, but that one of the vessels shall be sent up the river for the purpose of communicating with the model farm; and as you have volunteered for this service, I hereby appoint you to the temporary command of Her Majesty's steamer Wilberforce; and it is my direction that, as soon as your preparations shall be completed, you proceed to the Nun branch of the river Niger, and that you carry into effect the wishes of Her Majesty's Government. As I have the fullest confidence in your zeal and discretion, I feel that I cannot do better than enclose copies of their Lordships' Letter to Captain Foote, together with Lord Stanley's Minute, strictly enjoining you to carry out the spirit of the views of their Lordships therein contained. I will only add, that it is of the utmost importance that you use every dispatch consistent with the safety of the vessel, in accomplishing the service entrusted to you; and that, although Lord Stanley permits you to communicate with Rabbah, it is only to be done under the most favourable circumstances. If, therefore, the slightest symptoms of sickness should break out among your European party, you are on no account to attempt it. In any case my opinion is, that it is not desirable to appear before Rabbah with a reduced complement of officers, and a black crew; as the natives, knowing the deadly effect which their climate has always had on us, will believe that it places them beyond the reach of white men, especially if any of your officers should be sick while there. You will observe also that Lord Stanley, and the Lords of the Admiralty, are peremptory in commanding you not to go beyond Rabbah, nor to explore the river with Her Majesty's vessel.

You have with you what you consider a sufficient number of officers, and on their zeal and cordial co-operation I feel confident you may rely. At your strong instance I have appointed a third engineer, which I agree with you in thinking absolutely necessary. The Kroomen are of your own selection; one of whom, Yàrriba George, the stoker, was promised his discharge when we should go up the river again. He also applied for it when I was at Rabbah, in the Alburkah. You are therefore to discharge him at any convenient place, paying him the amount of his wages in goods and cowries.

Mr. Cook, the Civil Commissioner, having very recently altered the determination he had made to accompany you, for the purpose of attending to the interests of the proprietors of the

model farm, this difficult task devolves on you; and I have no doubt you will do all in your power to comply with the wishes expressed by the Chairman of the Society in his letter to Mr. Cook. I would, however, impress on your mind the importance of deeply considering the condition in which you may find the settlers at the model farm, since much of the future good to Africa which may still be hoped to arise out of the exertions which have been made in her behalf, may depend on the decision to which you may come with respect to that establishment. At the same time I must express my conviction that those who are interested in it, will be satisfied with whatever course you may take.

As Her Majesty has declined to accept the sovereignty, or proprietary interest, in any land which the Attàh has agreed to cede to her Majesty, you will explain to the Attàh, or to his officers, that the person left in charge of the model farm, is to be considered on the behalf of the Agricultural Society, as the proprietor of such a portion of the territory originally proposed to be purchased, as may be agreed on by you, in consideration of the sum of 160,000 cowries, which have been paid to the Attàh's agents, being one-fifth of the whole purchase-money. The limits of such portion are to be clearly defined by you, and explained as well to the native authorities as to our settlers. You will also explain to the settlers who may choose to remain, that they will not be under the sovereignty of the British Queen, but under that of the Attàh of Ègara, and they must therefore abstain from violating any of his laws. You may possibly be able to stipulate on their behalf for the taxes and duties to which they will be liable.

The Chiefs of Ibu, and of Ègara, have agreed to abolish for ever the Slave Trade in their dominions; but as it is reasonable to suppose, that without the presence of a restraining influence, they will not take active measures to enforce the observance of the treaty by their subjects, you may have opportunities of seeing this inhuman practice still carried on. I am clearly of opinion, under existing circumstances, that you should refrain from all interference in such a case, since, in the first place, we have no authority from the Admiralty for capturing any vessel or canoe engaged in it; and in the next there is reason to fear that such capture being totally at variance with the prejudices and ideas of right and wrong they have hitherto entertained; the natives not only would be unable to appreciate the principle upon which you act, but they might probably imagine that you have used your power for the purpose of appropriating the slaves to yourself. And, lastly, instances of rigour, although just, if they be not followed up, may, by exasperating the natives, be productive of much evil, not only to those persons who may remain as settlers, but to any future enterprize which may be purely commercial.

On your return to the coast you will find one of Her Majesty's vessels at the mouth of the Nun ready to assist you, and probably with orders from the Senior Officer; otherwise you will return to this port, and be guided by instructions, which you will here receive.

You will request the Senior Officer that he be pleased to take steps for sending all the Kroomen and liberated Africans composing your crew, to their respective countries; and you will remember, in making out their pay-lists, that such men as you may think deserving of it, are entitled to one month's extra pay, as a reward for their good services.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM ALLEN, Captain.

To Lieutenant W. H. WEBB,
Her Majesty's Steam-vessel Wilberforce.

No. 45.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Lord STANLEY to Captain ALLEN, R. N.

Sir, Downing-street, 14th September, 1842.

No. 45. I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, No. 8, of the 5th ultimo, reporting the arrangements which you have made in pursuance of my instructions of April last, for sending Her Majesty's steamer Wilberforce up the Niger, under the command of Lieutenant Webb, to communicate with the model farm.

Amidst much that has occurred, connected with the Niger Expedition, to cause deep regret, it has afforded me considerable satisfaction to find, by your present communication, that my instructions reached your hands in time to stop the renewal of that Expedition, and that yourself and the other surviving officers and seamen have returned in safety to England.

It only remains for me to state that I approve the instructions which you have given to Lieutenant Webb, for his guidance in the conduct of the mission entrusted to him.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STANLEY.

To Captain Allen, R.N.
&c. &c.

RIVER NIGER.

No. 46.

No. 46.

COPY of a LETTER from Sir JOHN BARROW, Bart., to G. W. HOPE, Esq.

Sir, Admiralty, 10th December, 1842.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Lord Stanley, a copy of a letter dated the 8th instant, from Lieutenant Webb, of Her Majesty's steam-vessel Wilberforce, reporting his proceedings up the Niger, whilst endeavouring to ascertain the fate of Mr. Carr, of the late Niger Expedition.

I am, &c.

G. W. Hope, Esq., &c. &c. (Signed) JOHN BARROW.

Enclosure in No. 46.

Sir, Woolwich, 8th December, 1842.

Encl. in No. 46.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that owing to the duties which have intervened since my return to England, I have not been able to send in a minute report of my proceeding up the Niger, but which I trust to have the honour shortly to transmit, now they have come to a close.

On the presumption that the scattered information I am in possession of, regarding the disappearance of Mr. Carr, to be a matter of some importance, and may be a guide for their Lordships' further proceedings in that case, should they deem it necessary, I beg to lay before you all the facts upon that head which I have been able to elicit.

On my first landing at Abòh, on the 6th July, after the preliminary inquiries, I made it the first subject of investigation with King Obie, if he knew any white man having ascended the river in a canoe, mentioning the time Mr. Carr had entered Brass or St. John's River. He assured me that no intelligence had reached him of any white man proceeding up the river by that route, and he was confident Mr. Carr had not gone up, or it must have come to his knowledge.

On my way to the vessel, after having secured a pilot, observing several large canoes, I asked him to whom they belonged; he informed me to King Boy, who was in one which he pointed out. This rather surprised me, as King Obie had not mentioned the circumstance, although Boy's name was brought under discussion. I immediately proceeded to the king's canoe, and saw Boy, demanding any information he might have regarding Mr. Carr. He positively assured me that he had never heard of the arrival of Mr. Carr in Brass river, but thought it most probable that if he had landed or passed through there, a son of the late King Jacket, a co-chief in the same river, might have been aware of the circumstance. This reply, considering they were such near neighbours, was sufficient to convince me he had more knowledge of Mr. Carr than he was disposed to give; and finding, after many promises, threats, and much questioning, nothing further was to be obtained from him without proceeding to force, I proceeded up the river, and made the same inquiries on my arrival at Iddah, when I was equally unfortunate in obtaining any information.

On my way down I stopped to communicate with King Obie; and, after anchoring, two messengers came on board from King Boy, who was encamped on a sand-bank on the right-hand side of Abòh creek, requesting an interview with me respecting the white man that entered his river about seven or eight moons back; which, after his previous disavowal of all knowledge of Mr. Carr, convinced me of his duplicity. I immediately despatched the galley with his two messengers, requesting his attendance on board. They returned, saying that he would come if white man would fetch him (a custom not uncommon among African chiefs).

Mr. Hinsman, assistant surgeon, kindly volunteered for that duty; who, on his return without Boy, reported that he was unwilling to come; but he now confessed Mr. Carr had entered his river about seven or eight moons since, though not under his protection; and that he was in possession of his clothes, together with two Bassa men, from whom he took them about that period. He studiously avoided stating whether the canoe was going seaward or to their own country in the interior, or giving his reasons for retaining this information on my last interview; which behaviour led me to believe that he was deeply implicated in the loss of Mr. Carr; and whilst he declared that he had no positive evidence of his murder, yet he believed him to be killed by the Bassa people, and was ready to furnish pilots to their locality, although he would not go himself. As I considered this statement of his not sufficiently satisfactory, I proceeded on shore myself, to prevail upon him, if possible, to come on board, hoping, when he was once in my power, to arrive at some more definite conclusion as to the destiny of the unfortunate superintendent. He directly refused to come on board; and all his replies to why he withheld this intelligence before, and his reasons why he had not communicated the circumstance to the King of Bonny, with whom he is in constant intercourse, were more evasive and shuffling.

Finding it impossible to seize him, being strongly encamped and supported by three large canoes, I returned on board and got the vessel under weigh, in order that I might intimidate him and cut off his retreat to Abòh without coming to actual hostilities on friendly ground; but I am sorry to say he anticipated the movement, and, during the confusion of clearing the

numerous Abòh canoes which surrounded the vessel, King Obie having arrived at the moment of weighing, also hastily left the ship.

My first measure was to secure the persons of the two Brass men (Boy's messengers), thinking that if I was unable to obtain any final information from either Obie or Boy, I might obtain more substantial proofs from the prisoners, on my way to Fernando Po, not wishing to remain long in the Delta, as three out of the eight Europeans were confined to their beds with fever, also the boatswain and last engineer complaining.

I then sent a message to Obie, through one of his canoes just arrived from the lower part of the river, saying that, as we were friends by treaty, I trusted he would renew the visit. He sent me back word, by one of his head men, that he would come if the captain would fetch him. I accordingly proceeded in the galley with Mr. Hinsman up his creek; but before I could arrive at the landing place, two large canoes suddenly closed from either side of the creek, and showed evident marks of hostility and a wish to cut the galley off, the banks at the same time being instantaneously lined with armed men.

Her Majesty's steam-vessel being in a precarious state, and the boat's crew unarmed, I deemed it more prudent to return to the vessel; and, after securing the person of Obie's messenger, and waiting a short time for a communication from the shore, I took the schooner in tow and proceeded down the river.

On the following morning I examined the Brass men and Obie's messenger, whose examination I now beg to enclose, only remarking that the prisoners were examined separately.

On a subsequent examination at Fernando Po, before Mr. Becroft, they asserted they were not certain Mr. Carr was murdered, but constantly endeavoured to impress upon me, that if such was the case, the Brass people were innocent.

Finding the prisoners prevaricated in their replies, and seemed only anxious to exculpate their tribe, and fix the stigma on the Bassa people, I proceeded the same day down the first Benìn branch, 40 miles up the river Nun, to the Bassa creek (a chart of which I enclose), under the pilotage of the prisoners, determining to investigate the matter at Bassa Town, as it appeared so singular that Mr. Carr's clothes and the Bassa prisoners should be taken in Brass creek, when they stated he was murdered at Bassa; but after proceeding five miles down, and the vessel grounding, the boatswain being obliged to lay up, the remaining engineer getting worse, and the surgeon also down with fever, I was compelled to relinquish all further prosecution in the matter.

I would beg to observe to their Lordships, that from the suspicious behaviour of King Boy, and the unsatisfactory replies of the prisoners, I am of opinion that Boy is in possession of all the information regarding the mysterious disappearance of Mr. Carr; and further, that although there is no positive proof of his death, yet the presumption is such as to leave little doubt of it, as Boy would have been but too happy to have obtained possession of Mr. Carr himself, as well as his boxes, in whosesoever power he might have been, for the sake of his ransom.

In my letter to Captain Foote, I stated in what manner I had disposed of the prisoners, viz., discharged them into the Soudan, to await an opportunity for a passage to their own country, and expressed my assumption of Mr. Carr's death.

I trust their Lordships will be sufficiently satisfied that I prosecuted the inquiries on the river respecting Mr. Carr, with as much zeal as untoward circumstances would admit, and I humbly beg leave to request, should their Lordships' contemplate making further researches there for more positive evidence, I may be allowed to offer my services for that particular duty.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. H. Webb,
Lieutenant late Commanding H. M. S. V. Wilberforce.

The Secretary of the Admiralty.

Examination of King Boy's Messengers, Ben Williams and Ebony Bill.

26th July, 1842.

Q. Do you remember the white man coming up Brass river about 8 moons ago?
A. No; but I remember hearing of one who was said to go up in a Bassa canoe.
Q. What became of him?
A. It was said he was tied to a tree and shot by the Bassa men at Bassa Town.
Q. Where, and how did you hear of this?
A. Brass; Bassa prisoners say so, at Bassa Town, the first Benin branch about 40 miles up the river Nun.
Q. Has King Boy got his clothes, and two Bassa men prisoners who are supposed to have murdered him?
A. Yes.
B. Did these two men murder him?
A. They say no.
Q. When and where did King Boy take the clothes and men?
A. In Brass Creek, about seven or eight moons since.
Q. Can you mention any of the articles King Boy has?
A, Yes; plenty of clothes and plenty of books, but all the boxes had been opened.
Q. Why do you think Bassa men murdered him?
A. Do not know; suppose for his clothes.
Q. What did they do with his servant?

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A. Sent him into the country for slave.

Q. Did these Bassa men say he was murdered; and how did they account for being in possession of his clothes?

A. Yes; would not tell.

Q. Where was the Bassa canoe going when King Boy took it?

A. Did not know or would not tell.

Q. Why did not King Boy tell King Obie or King of Bonny he had his clothes, or why did he not tell me about one moon back?

A. Do not know.

Q. If they murdered Mr. Carr down the first Benin branch, near Bassa Town, how did King Boy get his clothes at Brass Town, or in Brass Creek?

A. Would not answer.

Q. If King Boy could get Mr. Carr's clothes, why could he not get his person?

A. Because Bassa people too far.

Q. Did Chief of Bassa ever come to Brass Town, and demand his men from King Boy?

A. No.

Q. Why did King Boy keep these men so long prisoners without letting white men know through King of Bonny?

A. Because he had no opportunity.

Q. Will you take this ship to Bassa Town?

A. Yes.

Q. Can this ship go to Brass Town?

A. No.

Many other queries put, but no further information could be obtained.

W. H. Webb.

Examination of Black Beard, King Obi's Messenger.

Q. Did you ever hear of a white man landing in Brass river to go up this river about seven or eight moons back?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear of a white man being murdered in Brass or by the Bassa people about that time?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever hear of King Boy having clothes of a white man, and two Bassa people that he took with them?

A. No.

Q. How often does King Boy generally come to Abòh?

A. About one in two moons.

Q. What does he come for?

A. Palm oil and yams.

Q. Does King Boy deal in slaves?

A. Yes.

Q. With whom?

A. Would not say.

Q. You are positive that you never heard from King Boy or any Brass people of a white man having been murdered about seven or eight moons back and King Boy having his clothes?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the reason King Obi's canoes prepared to attack my boat and make white man prisoner?

A. Do not know.

Q. What made Obi's canoes and all people on shore armed, as well as the canoes near the ship?

A. Do not know.

Q. Why did King Obii leave the ship and refuse to come again when I sent for him.

A. Afraid, I suppose.

Q. What was he afraid of?

A. Do not know.

Many other queries were put, but nothing of the least importance could be elicited.

W. H. Webb, Lieutenant.

No. 47.

No. 47. Copy of a LETTER from Sir John Barrow, Bart., to James Stephen, Esq.

Admiralty, 11th January, 1843.

Sir,

No. 37. *Vide* p. 56.

With reference to your letter of the 30th March last (page 56) relative to the withdrawal of the Expedition to the Niger, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Lord Stanley, a copy of a report from Lieutenant Webb, late commander of Her Majesty's steam-vessel Wilberforce, dated the 2nd inst., relative to the proceedings

of the said Expedition, and my Lords desire me to express their hope that the conduct of Lieutenant Webb, as therein detailed, will be approved of by Lord Stanley under the circumstances stated.

I am, &c.

James Stephen, Esq. (Signed) JOHN BARROW.
&c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 47.

To the Secretary of the Admiralty, a Report of Proceedings from Lieutenant W. H. Webb, R.N.

Sir, 8, Cecil-street, Strand, 2nd January, 1843.

Encl. in No. 47.

As my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty may require further information on the subject of my late voyage up the river Niger than is contained in my letter of the 10th ultimo, I beg leave to transmit a full and particular report of my proceedings.

Her Majesty's Government having sent out despatches to recal the officers and crews of the Niger Expedition, and directing at the same time that a vessel should be sent up the river to communicate with the model farm, I volunteered for this service, together with the officers named in the margin.

Mr. J. H. R. Webb, Clerk in Charge.
Mr. W. C. Hinsman, Acting Assistant Surgeon.
Mr. John Waddington, Acting Boatswain.
Mr. Henry Davey, Acting Carpenter.
Mr. W. Johnstone, first Engineer.
Mr. M. Cameron, second Engineer.
Mr. Henry Collins, third Engineer.

Captain William Allen, senior officer of the Expedition, having judged the Wilberforce most suitable for this service, appointed me to the temporary command of her, with the above-named officers and 46 Kroomen.

On the 29th June, 1842, all our preparations having been completed, we sailed from Fernando Po, towed by the Kite, in which vessel Captain Allen accompanied us, to see us safely enter the river, which we reached at noon of the 1st July. The tide not serving that day to cross the bar, and also having to communicate with Captain Allen, we anchored. At 6·30 A. M. of the 2nd July we parted our chain, in consequence of the strong breeze and heavy swell, and after being supplied with an anchor from the Kite, and received my final instructions from Captain Allen, we weighed, and parted company with the old English appeal of three hearty cheers.

We crossed the bar 10·45 A.M., and anchored at 11 in the mouth of the river, as we found the vessel would not steer without addition to her rudder, the tail of which we had lost the day we left Fernando Po. To repair this defect we were under the necessity of grounding her, which we did safely, and by the exertions of the carpenter and the engineers completed this duty in six hours, but unfortunately we lost the night tide, and were detained till 11 A.M. of the 3rd.

We found little or no variation in the soundings or strength of the tide (which was now at flood), as observed on a former occasion, until we arrived near Sunday Island, when the sea tide ceases and the mangrooves begin to disappear. There our difficulties commenced, and, as Captain Allen had predicted, we found the appearance of the river totally altered, sand banks showing themselves in all parts of the bed of the stream, and in some places extending nearly across the whole width, never affording more than from 7 to 10 feet of water, or if we happened to find it somewhat deeper near the banks, the snags protruded in such numbers that it was with the utmost difficulty that we avoided them.

We also observed in passing the several villages on either bank of the river, that the natives (few of whom appeared) did not display that curiosity, fear, or wonder which had been so apparent on our first ascent, and that our passage (except in rare instances) was a matter of unconcern to them.

I was at a loss to account for this indifference, except that it might have arisen from the little intercourse we had had with the tribes in the Delta; or else (and as I suspected) that it arose from their having some knowledge of Mr. Carr's fate, and therefore were apprehensive of our intentions on that account.

The current from Sunday Island to Abòh was considerably less, never exceeding two knots; and this circumstance taken in reference to steam-vessels of smaller dimensions and better proportioned powers than the Wilberforce, affords a good argument for preferring to ascend the river in the month of July, or even so early as the middle of June, for with the Wilberforce we found great advantage, her power being so small.

On arriving at a branch of the river above Ingiamma, through which the Wilberforce went last August, and which Captain Allen thought we might try on

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this occasion, we found it nearly dry, precluding all possibility of taking that route. The banks of the river had varied from 15 to 20 feet in height, and the particles of light, fine, yet firm sand in the bed of the stream were from two to three feet high; in fact, this formerly broad sheet of water was diminished to a narrow stream, abounding with shoals.

The neighbourhood of the larger Benìn branch, which we reached on the 5th July, was so intersected by shoals that we grounded several times before we succeeded in finding a fit channel. The navigation was rendered extremely difficult by the partial covering of shoals, but where the sands appeared above water the channel was generally well defined.

At 9 A. M. of the 6th we anchored off Abòh. Knowing the danger of delay in a pestilential atmosphere, I immediately proceeded to visit Obie, to inform him of the objects of my mission and to obtain if possible information respecting the settlement at the confluence and the fate of Mr. Carr. The king kept me in waiting nearly an hour in his, so called, palace. He then made his appearance, dressed in the habiliments given to His Majesty by the Commissioners on signing the Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade. Our interview was very brief. I informed the king of the ratification of that Treaty by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, upon which he inquired after the expected trading vessels, and I answered that in due time they might appear. My inquiry for information respecting Mr. Carr then followed, viz., as to whether the king knew of any white man having ascended the river in a canoe, mentioning the time when Mr. Carr had entered Brass (or St. John's) river. The King assured me that he had no knowledge, nor had any intelligence reached him, of any white man proceeding up the river by that route; that he was confident Mr. Carr had not gone up, or he, the king, must have become acquainted with the circumstance.

Upon inquiry respecting the settlement, or model farm, the king reluctantly produced a small box containing letters from the settlers, dated in October, 1841, which one of his head men had received at Iddah " six moons before," saying at the same time that there was a rumour of the Foulahs or Falatahs having attacked the settlement and murdered three of the farmers.

The detention of this box of letters which it was so easy for the King to have forwarded to its destination through the Bonny or Brass people, with whom he is in constant intercourse, raised doubts in my mind as to his zeal; and his constrained manner made me suspect that he knew the fate of Mr. Carr, and the true state of the settlers at the farm.

However, I obtained a pilot and took my leave, inviting the King to visit the Wilberforce, in order to receive a portion of the presents I was instructed to offer him. I perhaps should explain that I came to the determination to withhold a portion of the presents intended for King Obie, because I was convinced that he had misgivings as to the object of the Expedition, which he ought not to have had, while the disappointment and anxiety displayed on his countenance at my determination, strongly indicated either his avarice or his fears that something respecting Mr. Carr and the settlers might transpire to disappoint his hopes of getting the remainder. As I could not afford the delay of six hours which the King, in compliance with mere etiquette required, in order to pay a visit to the vessel, I waited till noon, when the King not having made his appearance, I sent by his son the following articles, as a present, in the name of Her Britannic Majesty:

1 double-barrelled gun,
2 single ditto,
1 helmet,
22,000 cowries;

and being uneasy at the rumours about the settlers, I hastened my departure from King Obie's Creek with all possible solicitude.

Here I may mention that on my way to the vessel with the pilot, I observed several large canoes lying in the Creek; these it appeared, on inquiry of the pilot, belonged to King Boy of Brass Town, who himself was in one of them, which the pilot pointed out; this rather surprised me, for King Obie had not mentioned the circumstance of King Boy being at hand, although his name was used in our conversation.

I immediately proceeded to the King's canoe and saw Boy; I requested of him any information he might possess respecting Mr. Carr; the King showed willing acquiescence, but the account he gave was as unsatisfactory as that obtained of

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King Obie, for while he acknowledged that Brown (an African employed in the Expedition as interpreter, and who accompanied Mr. Carr up the Brass Creek), had communicated with some of the Brass people about eight moons back, he disavowed having heard that Mr. Carr or any white man was with him, and all knowledge of the reasons which had induced Brown to enter the Brass river. He suggested, however, that if Mr. Carr had landed or passed through his, the King's water, a son of the late King Jacket, and now a co-chief in the same river, might have been aware of the circumstance. This suggestion, considering the near neighbourhood of these Chiefs, was sufficient to convince me that he knew more of Mr. Carr than he chose to tell.

Boy's fawning and abject behaviour greatly disgusted me, and confirmed my fears as to Carr's fate. I fully resolved, should I be spared, to make him account on my return for Mr. Carr, or to carry him a prisoner to Fernando Po.

We proceeded shortly after noon up the river. The entrance to Obie's or Eboe Creek, which at our former visit was nearly a quarter of a mile in width, had now decreased so much as to be barely sufficient to admit of the use of the galley's oars, and the sands were fully half across the bed of the river. We soon reached the village on the opposite bank (marked hostile in Captain Allen's chart), the natives were assembled in multitudes, and showed the same degree of curiosity that had marked our former track in every part of the river: at 3·30 P.M. we experienced a heavy squall from the S.W., accompanied by lightning, thunder, and rain. Squalls from the S.W. are unusual.

We soon found the uselessness of the pilot Alherr, who was ignorant of the proper channel.

We anchored for the night at 6 P.M., having threaded our way among numerous sand banks.

Shortly after weighing on the 8th, we found ourselves in a wrong channel; and in winding ship, grounded. We had recourse to the anchors, and with the assistance of the engines, aided by the untiring zeal of the officers and men, succeeded in clearing the shoal and reaching the mid-channel by dark, when we anchored for the night. While we were aground an Abòh canoe came alongside, from which we obtained by purchase some provisions; after this we discovered a slave bearing Houssa marks, chained to the bottom of the boat. I pointed out to the head man this breach of faith of King Obie, upon which the canoe immediately quitted our side unmolested; for besides being in difficulty at the moment, I thought it more advisable to follow the suggestion of Captain Allen, viz., "not to exasperate the natives by seizing slaves in canoes, should I meet with any;" than to indulge the impulse of my own feelings on this occasion, viz., to carry out the objects of the Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade, by liberating any I might meet with.

At nine o'clock A.M. of the 9th, we grounded for an hour near Tamuka Market, on passing which we observed a large concourse of people bartering grass mats, &c. At four o'clock P.M. of the 9th, abreast of Oniàh Market, the sand banks at this part of the river were higher and more extensive than any we had hitherto seen, averaging nine feet. On these banks greater numbers of people than we had seen on the river banks at Tamuka, were encamped in tents; I estimate 1500 as thus encamped; each tent bore a flag with various fantastic devices. There was apparently but little trade going on, but plenty of *palaver*, as is the case in all African communities on this coast.

At five o'clock abreast of the river Edòh, supposed to be a tributary of the Benìn rver, which Soudan attempted to ascend, but was unable to arrive at any definite conclusion as to its source.

At 1·15 P.M. of the 10th we anchored off Iddah; Mr. Davey, the carpenter, was sent a-shore for the twofold purpose of inquiry if I could see the Attàh, of whom I wished to learn tidings of Mr. Carr; and of ascertaining by a mark on a large cotton tree made by Captain Trotter's orders during his ascent, how much of the river had fallen, the river was then at its height. 2·40 P.M. the boat returned with intelligence that the Attàh could not be seen till the following day; that the settlers at the confluence were all well, but that no tidings of Mr. Carr had reached them. The river had fallen 30 feet. At 2·45 weighed and proceeded between English Island and the cliffs, not choosing to lose 24 hours in a race of life and death for the caprice of an African chief. At 3·30 finding we were unable to proceed by the before-mentioned channel, and in endeavouring to retrace our steps, we grounded, laid out the kedge, and subsequently the best bower and chain, and tried every available means to get the vessel off without effect. I beg leave here

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to remark on the unfitness, in my opinion, of such vessels as the Wilberforce and her consorts for the navigation of a river of this description; they have been found both unwieldy and unmanageable under the most favourable circumstances we met with. Notwithstanding the untiring and praiseworthy exertions of officers and men up to a late hour of the night, we laid a-ground till 3·30 P.M. of the 11th. While a-ground on the morning of the 11th the Attah's Mallam (minister) Massabah came on board, bringing a box of letters from the settlers, dated January, 1842, describing their anxiety for the return of the vessels, as the Foulahs had threatened an attack on one or two occasions. The Mallam inquired why I did not visit the Attàh; to which I answered, "I had not time;" and in return demanded to know why the Attàh would not see me without delay? and why the letters had been so long detained instead of being forwarded to the coast? To the first it was answered, that the "Attàh would break through a long established custom if he received a visitor the same day of his arrival;" and to the second, "that he had no opportunity of transmitting the letters." I explained to the Mallam why we came here, and begged him to return to the Attàh and obtain permission to accompany or follow us to the confluence, that a final settlement concerning the purchased territory might be made on the spot; and not wishing to create an unfavourable impression from any lack of courtesy, I sent by the Mallam to the Attàh a silk tobe, and to the old Queen Madogbie a piece of drab silk.

We anchored for the night, and proceeding with the next morning, were at 7·30 of the 12th a-breast of Bird Rock.

Its appearance was completely altered; when we last saw it, it was only a few feet above water, it now appeared about 35 feet high, and bore more resemblance to a ship under sail than to anything else. We passed several rocks, some of which were from 15 to 20 feet above water, although entirely hidden and passed over on our former ascent; at noon passing between a large cluster of rocks (some of which were 35 feet above water) and the lower end of Beaufort Island, and nearly in mid-channel, with leads going one forward and one aft, and every possible precaution, we struck on a reef, which penetrated the second compartment, in the neighbourhood of the boatswain's store-room on the larboard side, and started four rivets in the third compartment on the starboard side; the soundings taken by the two leadsmen before we struck were three fathoms forward and four fathoms aft. The engines were stopped, and immediately reversed, but ineffectually; and before I could run forward from the break of the poop, the foremast compartment filled up to the deck. The leaky compartment was cleared as far as practicable, and the bower-anchor and chain laid out astern, with the kedge on the larboard quarter, and two lengths of hawser to the rocks from the starboard bow. After several unavailing attempts at the purchase together with the engines reversed, finding it impossible to move the vessel, we steadied her for the night.

From day-break of the 13th until 2 P.M., we used every exertion by turning the stowage, heaving on the purchase, and using the engines, to get her off, without success. I then determined to despatch Mr. Waddington, the acting boatswain, in the galley to the confluence to clear out the Amelia tender, and drop her down (if practicable) to take in our stores and provisions, and to lighten the vessel. At 7 P.M., eight of the men belonging to the Amelia appeared in a 40-feet galley attached to the settlement, the said Mr. Waddington had sent down pursuant to my orders, while he and his party were engaged in preparing the Amelia, in which he returned at 5·30 P.M. of the 14th. The promptitude and ability with which Mr. Waddington performed this important service merits my warmest acknowledgments. He had great difficulties to encounter in the mutinous disposition of the crew, and to thread his way through rocks, a distance of 16 miles.

On the 15th, hauled the Amelia alongside, and were busily engaged removing stores and provisions, in which we were greatly assisted by the Bahah refugees brought from the confluence in the schooner until 4·30 PM., when we again tried all our strength, but without success. We then secured for the night.

On the 16th, employed in removing stores and provisions to the Amelia till 5 P.M., when the schooner being sufficiently deep, we again tried the purchase, and moved the vessel a little. We, however, found it necessary to heave overboard six tons of coals to lighten her; at 7 P.M. we secured for the night. At midnight we had a heavy squall. At 6·30 of the 17th, after baling through the night and pumping, we hove off, and, taking the Amelia in tow, proceeded at full speed towards the confluence. Here I would beg leave to record the high sense I entertain of the exertions of every individual under my command throughout this

critical juncture, feeling assured that, by their united and cheerful compliance with every order issued, the vessel was saved from total wreck. While fixed on the reef, Madogbie, the old Queen of Iddah, came on board; she was accompanied by the Mallam Massabah, who, according to my request, came to accompany me to the confluence for the arrangement of affairs. The Queen brought two goats as a present from the King of Iddah, and an assurance that the King would supply any want of provisions. The Queen was so pleased with the reception and what she saw about her, that she prolonged her visit to the extent of 20 hours, when she quitted us and proceeded down the river, landing the Mallam on a neighbouring rock, whence he was soon after brought on board the Wilberforce by a canoe of Iddah, which had been to a market higher up the river. In this canoe I discovered two female slaves from Kakanda; and on my reminding the Mallam, in pretty severe terms, that the King of Iddah, his master, was breaking the Treaty of last year by thus suffering his Chiefs to deal in slaves, he instantly pushed off, and we saw no more of him.

On the 18th July, at 8 A.M., we anchored off the settlement, and found the settlers unmolested from without, but in a state of disorganization.

Finding we could not gain on the leak, we swept the vessel's bottom with a top-sail and rain awning; this, however, with constant bailing and pumping, was insufficient; I therefore weighed, and ran her bows on a grassy bank about a cable's length from the right shore. At 6 P.M. we ascertained the injury to be about five feet in length, and two inches in breadth, under the boatswain's store-room, which was to be only repaired by fixing an iron plate from within.

July 19th. Employed on the leak, and in re-stowing stores and provisions from the Amelia, as the river was rising and I was anxious to proceed to Rabbah with the least possible delay.

Up to this time no sickness had appeared among the Europeans of the crew, and I had every reasonable ground of expectation to be able to carry out the views of Her Majesty's Government; but now I found all my designs frustrated by the illness of Messrs. Davey the carpenter, and Johnstone the first engineer, who were seized with fever this day.

20th July. 6·30 A.M. discovered three feet water in the after compartment, accounted for by the oversight of the engineers, on the previous night, in not putting the box-nuts on the pipes which connects with the bilge in the engine-room from each compartment; and in consequence of this accident we were obliged to clear out the after holds. Many of the presents and the powder were found much damaged. The drying these articles and keeping the foremost compartments constantly baled dry, so that the engineers might fix the plate, occupied the whole of this day.

21st July. Employed drying the holds, stores, &c. Mr. Cameron, second engineer, was taken ill, and reduced our strength in this branch to the third engineer, Mr. Collins. We continued every exertion preparatory to removing down the river, though the reduced strength of engineers retarded all our operations to a very inconvenient degree.

About noon, Shimaboe, uncle of the Attàh, came on board to pay his respects. I informed him of the necessity I was under of removing settlers from the model farm, at which he expressed his regret; but he fully concurred in the arrangements I proposed to make with respect to the disposal of the buildings and crops. The friendly behaviour of this Chief induced me to give him, on his departure, a damask tobe. After the departure of Shimaboe, I proceeded on shore, hearing that the Foulahs were within three miles north of the settlement, and engaged in an attack on the village of Priaprie, situated on a rocky eminence at the foot of Mount Pattèh. I took with me Mr. Webb, the clerk in charge, and an interpreter, to obtain, if possible, an interview with the Chief of the invaders. On arriving at the scene of action, we found that the Chief of the village attacked, Agajah, had beaten them off: this frustrated my hopes of an interview with their Chief. We were shown two arrows by Agajah, as trophies of his victory. Agajah appeared a short though a robust man, with a countenance the most open of any I had yet met with. He had with him about 400 men, armed with bows and arrows; two men, who appeared to be of consequence, carried each an old-fashioned musket: these were the only fire-arms we observed amongst them. These people appeared better appointed, and expressed more determination than I expected to meet with. The position of the village was well chosen against attack, and the Chief assured me that he had successfully resisted all attacks for a number of years; that he had never had recourse

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to flight; but, as his enemies were becoming more numerous every moon, he began to be apprehensive of the consequences. His manner was determined and manly, and sufficiently cordial until I refused to give him the pistols I carried. This refusal appeared to offend him; nevertheless, I sent him two single-barrelled guns by his son, who came to visit me on the following day, and exhibited in his person the fine qualities of his father.

A few days before our arrival at the confluence, a village gogœ between Priaprae and the farm, was abandoned by its inhabitants, under apprehensions of hostilities from the Foulahs; the fugitives taking refuge on the dry sand banks in the bed of the river, where they had built huts, as a temporary security against the attacks of their enemies the Foulahs, who never venture on the water and rarely or never dismount unless to bind any unfortunate victims, who never by any chance offer resistance, but give themselves up in passive hopelessness. By this, it would seem, that the settlement did not altogether secure its immediate neighbours from aggression.

July 22nd. Completed the repairs as far as was necessary to carry us to Fernando Po. At 3 P. M., got the steam up and hauled alongside the landing place to receive the remaining stores, &c., belonging to the settlement; we received also four men fugitives from the Bahàh country, who had been at the settlement for some time and feared being left behind, their country is situated about a day's march, west of Mount Pattèh, and judging from their industrious disposition, I should think must be well cultivated, but the Foulahs had found their way there, and they were obliged to seek another home.

We discharged Yàrriba George, a stoker, at his own request; and old Harvey and Finlay, who were returning to their own country, Rabbah, from service in one of the West India regiments, and had served me as interpreters, were also discharged here. By Finlay, who wrote Arabic, and who had excellent certificates of character, I sent to the King of Rabbah, Assima Azariki,* a letter, (a copy of is appended), and—

1 silk velvet tobe,
2 scarlet caps, and
11,000 cowries.

I also sent to the King of Seccatoo, Attikoo—

1 silk tobe,
1 spy glass,
1 packet of buttons but no letter.

These presents, I judged it proper to make, with a view of cultivating a good understanding with two such powerful chiefs.

I have now to state my reasons for removing the settlement, which I found in the following state and condition. I stated in my log from estimate, that the quantity of land under cultivation was about 30 acres; this I found reason to believe might be more correctly stated at 20; this was in good order, mainly planted with cotton, there were also a few yams. The first cropping with corn and cotton had failed entirely from, it is said, the seed having got damaged on its way from England, the growing crops were from the produce of country seed and very promising. Twelve mud huts had been erected, as well as the model farm-house, excepting on gable end of the latter, and the reason given by Nicholls, the head carpenter, in answer to my inquiry, why this remained incomplete was that he could not obtain wood, nor teach the fugitives about the settlement to saw it into plank; now the facts were, that there was sufficient wood to be had hard by the farm, and abundance on the opposite side of the river, and that it might have been cut into planks by five or six carpenters at the settlement. I found that Mr. Moore, the director, "pro tempore," had neither authority nor influence over Nicholls and his subordinates. I found that Mr. Neizer, the clerk, has been busier in malversation than in the business of the Society, for whose benefit he was employed, indeed I found it necessary to take from him merchandise, which he had acquired by the Society's means on his own account, and dispose of it for the Society's benefit. In short, the most complete disorganization had taken place; there was no room to hope for amendment without the presence of some European of ability and integrity to direct the affairs, a few only of the settlers were willing to remain, and this only on condition of increased wages. Mr. Hensman, the assistant surgeon, had volunteered to remain as director of the settlement for six months, and in him,

* Hàssaman Zaïki.

I doubt not would have been found the requisite for good management, but the shortness of the time he would remain, forbad me to entertain any very sanguine hope of permanent advantage for his measures.

I should, however, in compliance with the wish of the Society, have left Mr. Hensman to try the experiment, had not sickness supervened on the majority of the persons under my command, and rendered it, in my judgment, imperative upon me to withdraw the settlers, and relinquish the establishment altogether.

I found the conduct of the settlers in general, and that of the crew of the Amelia, (excepting Thomas King, who was left in command of the vessel,) highly reprehensible for indulgence in the worst vices of the natives, and insubordination. I found them indolent and lazy, not one (as far as my experience went) willing or even disposed to manual labour, but ready enough to exercise authority over the negroes they hired, and whom they employed on the most trifling occasions rather than exert themselves; as a circumstance of their love of power, I would mention that a number of negroes having been hired to assist the settlers in transporting the stores from the hill to the vessels, two of the settlers were found to have furnished themselves with whips, apparently for the purpose of urging the natives to greater exertion. I forthwith ordered these instruments to be laid aside, and though I have no knowledge of their having been actually applied to the natives, yet I have reason to believe that the settlers were in the habit of carrying such instruments, which, if not applied, could not but fail to inspire the natives with terror, and alienate their good will, to the great injury of the British character. Of the whole numbers of the settlers and the crew of the Amelia, comprising about 32 persons, seven only of the former and two of the latter were willing to remain at the farm, and these only on condition of the beforementioned increase of wages, and the presence of an European chief.

The motives of such a general dereliction of purpose appeared to be partly a desire to return to their own country, under a feeling that their enterprize could not become profitable. All these circumstances combined, made me adopt the resolution to abandon the settlement, a resolution which, however, from circumstances, I could not help regretting, because I felt that we were retiring from a position of great advantage, whether regarded as an inland point from which commerce and civilization might be expected to diffuse their blessings through the neighbouring countries, or as a point of refuge for the fugitive negroes, seeking to avoid slavery, when they might become acquainted with the advantages of our protection, and possibly in time form a considerable colony under our rule, objects for which the Expedition was planned, but which cannot be realized unless one or more able Europeans could remain to conduct affairs.

I was informed by King, that he had sometimes seen from the schooner as many as fifty canoes go down the river in one day laden with slaves.

The settlement had already afforded an asylum to upwards of 300 refugees, many of whom we left residing among the neighbouring hills, under the government of Kulema, a Bahah chief, and of Sumana, chief of the village of Pandaïki, chiefs who, on account of their friendly disposition towards us and agreement with each other, I thought deserving of a share of the property we were about to relinquish.

To Sumana I gave the model-farm buildings, and to Kulema I gave the growing crops. Of the moveables, I gave to Kudajah, a chief of the Bahàh people, a horse, and I distributed 33,000 cowries (about 2*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.* sterling) among the natives, in payment of their services, with which they appeared contented. Having done this, we quitted the settlement at dark on the 22nd July, having the Amelia in tow.

23rd July, 4 P.M., arrived off Iddah. I immediately proceeded on shore to have an interview with the Attàh; he could not be prevailed on to dispense with his ceremonial delay, and, as I was most anxious not to lose time in our descent, I was under the uecessity of communicating with the old Queen Madogbie, the Mallam being absent. I informed her of the disposition I had made respecting the property at the late settlement; this she undertook to convey to the Attàh, and she returned with an answer, that the Attàh willingly acceded to my disposition of the property, that he regretted that white man was going away, and hoped that we should resume possession of the same territory whenever we pleased.

I returned to the vessel at 6′ 30 P.M, I had received directions to make a fit present to the Attah for his kindly feelings towards the objects of the Expedition last year, and, although I had found him infringing the Treaty, by dealing in

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slaves, I thought it best, both in compliance with my orders and to leave a favourable impression behind in the event of resuming our settlement, to send the following articles, which I did by our own boat, to one of the Attàh's chiefs, who waited at the landing-place to receive them, viz.:—

3 velvet tobes,	3 papers of N. E. buttons,
3 scarlet caps,	1 snuff box,
1 piece of silk,	1 saddle and bridle,
1 cloth dress,	4 pairs of pistols,
1 piece of blue velvet,	1 helmet, and
1 piece of varied striped velvet,	35 yards of red baize.
3 boxes of razors,	

And for his chief Mallam,—

1 damask tobe and 1 pair of silk trowsers.

At 7·30, anchored for the night in mid-channel, about four miles below Iddah, from whence we proceeded next morning and arrived on the 25th off Abôh, where I stopped to communicate further with King Obie (and if possible with King Boy) respecting Mr. Carr. As I had discharged the pilot at this place, I took advantage of his going ashore to send by him an invitation to Obie to visit the Wilberforce. As I could not leave the vessel while waiting the result of my message, two messengers from King Boy (who was encamped on a sand-bank near Abôh Creek) came on board to say that the king wanted to see me respecting the white man that had entered his river about seven or eight moons back. It will be remembered that on my way up he denied all knowledge of such a circumstance. I immediately despatched the galley with his messengers, requesting that the king would come on board, as the messengers said he would do so; they returned, however, with a message that King Boy would come on board if white man would fetch him. Mr. Hensman, assistant surgeon, immediately volunteered for that duty, as it was my object to get the king on board, and not to enter into any palaver on shore. The king still refused to come on board, but he acknowledged to Mr. Hensman that a white man (doubtless Mr. Carr) *had* entered his river about seven or eight moons since, though not under his protection, and that he (the king) had in his possession at Brass Town (the king's residence) some of the white man's clothes, together with two prisoners, Bassa men, from whom the clothes were taken about that period. Finding that the king would not come to me, I proceeded to his camp and endeavoured to prevail upon him to accompany me on board, hoping that when he was in my power I should arrive at better knowledge of the fate of the unfortunate missing superintendent,

Boy refused to accompany me; he gave the same account (before detailed) as he gave to Mr. Hensman. I inquired why he had concealed this information from me at our last interview, and the course pursued by the canoe? also, why he had concealed from the King of Bonny these circumstances? To these inquiries he studiously avoided giving any direct answer; and whilst he declared he had no positive evidence of Carr's murder, yet he said he believed him to have been killed by the Bassa people, and was ready to furnish pilots (though he would not go himself) to their locality.

Finding it impossible to obtain any satisfactory elucidation of the matter, I would have carried him to Fernando Po, but I found myself unable, having only a weak and unarmed boat's crew to oppose his numerous followers, strongly encamped and supported by three large canoes with swivels in the bow; I therefore returned on board and got the vessel under weigh with a view to interrupt his retreat to Abôh, and so intimidate him into a compliance with my wishes, without recourse to actual hostilities, on friendly grounds. Owing, however, to the confusion and delay in clearing the vessel of the numerous canoes which surrounded us, the king took advantage of the delay and escaped into Abôh Creek, across which I laid the vessel, in ignorance of the king's movement.

While I was engaged on shore with King Boy, King Obie came on board; I found him on my return, he took alarm at our getting under weigh, and despite of all entreaty to remain and assurance that we were friends of his, he quitted the vessel and went to his own creek.

Disappointed in my object of securing King Boy, my next step was to secure the persons of the two Brass men (Boy's messengers) yet on board; thinking that if I was unable to obtain any positive information from either Obie or Boy, I might gain more substantial proof from the prisoners on my way to Fernando Po. I was also unwilling to remain a moment longer than absolutely necessary at this par-

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ticular insalubrious part of the river, for I had now three out of eight Europeans confined to bed, and the boatswain and third engineer complaining. I then sent a message to King Obie, by one of his own people, to say that as we were at amity with him, I hoped he would renew his visit. He sent me word by one of his headmen that he would do so if the captain would fetch him. I accordingly proceeded up his creek in the galley, taking with me Mr. Hensman, intending to disembark at the landing-place, where there were many canoes. I had to pass on my way thither several war canoes, which were lying near the bank, on either side of the creek. We had passed the first two of these when my attention was drawn by some of my boat's crew to the movement of the canoes astern, as if intending to close upon us, and to the people in them having taken up their fire-arms; I at once winded the galley and pulled up alongside the nearest canoe, presenting my pistols (the only arms in the boat) at the Chief, who instantly dropped his musket, begging by gestures for mercy, and calling aloud "King Obie!" "King Obie!" The other canoes immediately pulled away towards the landing-place, but the right bank was simultaneously covered with armed men, who, till that moment, had not shown themselves. Some of them pointed muskets at us, but the appearance of my pistols pointed against them seemed to deter them from further violence, and we rejoined the vessel without other molestation. The messenger sent by King Obie remained on board the vessel while I proceeded up the creek; but seeing the galley on her way back, he hastily quitted the vessel, which being perceived by me, I called out to those on board to prevent its escape. It appears that, to effect this, Mr. Webb, clerk in charge, with his usual promptitude, sprung forward with a musket, which being pointed at the fugitives, they all jumped overboard from their canoe and swam for the bank, the high grass of which would effectually have concealed them had they succeeded in reaching the shore. At this juncture one of the Kroomen of our crew threw a boarding pike at the messenger, who avoided the stroke by diving, and continued his course; but the galley coming up at this moment, he was seized by one of the boat's crew and taken on board, where I at once placed him in irons. I think it necessary to state that there was no firing on our side; indeed not any of the crew were in possession of ammunition, although it was ready for distribution whenever I should consider it necessary. My reasons for putting Obie's messenger in confinement were grounded on strong presumptive proof that he had been sent to me as a decoy; and I hoped, in any case, to obtain some information respecting Mr. Carr, and for these reasons I also determined to carry him to Fernando Po. Having waited a short time, but in vain, for a further communication from the shore (during which delay I seized, by way of reprisal, a small canoe belonging to King Boy,) we took the schooner in tow, and proceeded on our way down the river.

The next morning I questioned the Brass men and Obie's messenger respecting Mr. Carr. The sum of their statements was, that some time ago King Boy had taken two Bassa men prisoners, which men had in their canoe, when taken, some white men's clothes; that these prisoners and clothes were now at Brass Town (King Boy's residence); that they had heard from the Bassa prisoners that the white man had been tied to a tree and shot at Bassa Town (a small place situated on a narrow creek of the lower Benìn branch, and about 40 miles from the mouth of the river), and that his servant was sent into the country. I could not learn from them the direction in which the Bassa prisoners were going when they were taken. The white man's clothes were described as comprising "plenty of clothes and plenty of books;" thus affording a presumptive proof that the effects described belonged to Mr. Carr. I could get no answer to my question, "If the white man was murdered at Bassa Town, how came the canoe with his clothes in Brass Creek, nearly 60 miles apart?" Though I examined these men separately, their testimony agreed in all the material points; but there was much prevarication, and I believe them to have been prepared by King Boy to answer any questions.

Finding, however, that they seemed anxious to exculpate their own tribe, and fix the stigma on the Bassa people, I proceeded under the pilotage of the prisoners down the first Benìn branch (a chart of which I have already transmitted), to investigate the matter at Bassa Town; but having gone about five or six miles down the river, and reached the entrance of the creek, the vessel grounded on a bank. We laid out the kedge and hove her off. I sounded in person the neighbourhood of the shoal, and found five fathoms inside, the channel very narrow, and the breadth of the creek itself not exceeding 150 yards. Just as we had cleared the shoal, I observed three large canoes coming down the creek; being in difficulty with the vessel, and

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the Amelia being five miles off unprotected, with only a black crew on board, and being ignorant also of the intentions of the people in the canoes, as well as apprehensive, from what I had learnt from the prisoners, that the appearance of these canoes could, at best, be only as suspicious, I fired three shots from the brass swivels, over the canoes, to warn them off, which had the desired effect of dispersing them, without hurting any person. They jumped overboard and fled to the bush.

The boatswain was now no longer able to do duty: the third engineer was getting worse, and the assistant-surgeon himself laid up with fever. I therefore found it necessary to relinquish all further prosecution of the inquiry, and at dusk of the 26th July, we took the schooner in tow, and resumed our course towards the mouth of the river, and anchored in the main stream for the night. I must mention here, when rounding the vessel, too, after dark in a narrow bend of the river, the schooner fouled the right bank and carried away her jib boom; however, we hove her off at nine o'clock that night, and secured her astern.

July 27, at daylight proceeded down the river; a little below the Benìn branch we observed several vollies of musketry from a village on the right bank. The distance at which the firing was first observed, together with the circumstance of our passing the people on the river's bank unmolested, left me in doubt of the real disposition of the people towards us, but as a measure of precaution we beat to quarters.

We arrived at the mouth of the river at 10 A.M., 27th July, victualled the schooner for 9 days, and prepared her for crossing the bar at low water. I found it necessary to get across as quickly as possible, on account of the increasing sickness of the third engineer, who, notwithstanding his weak state, assisted in this service as long as he could stand. We crossed at 11·30 A.M., having not less than two fathoms water, and moderate weather, and shaped a course for Fernando Po.

During our stay in the river, comprising a period of 26 days, we found by observations it had risen two feet. From observation, and the general state of the atmosphere, (a table of which is appended,) which was infinitely cooler in the daytime, with less dew at night, than had been found in August last year, I am led to believe that the months May, June, and July are the best for prosecuting any service with vessels of light draft of water. The current at this season (July) being never more than two knots, and probably much less in May and June, excepting the neighbourhood of rocks and narrows, where of course it was more rapid, but we did not find it ever exceed three and a half knots.

28th July, 2 P.M. Eased the engines to bale and better secure the 40-foot galley in tow of the schooner astern of us; during this operation the galley got under the schooner's quarter, tore her bows out, parted the tow rope, and turned bottom upwards, the schooner herself having sprung a leak early in the morning: the state of the weather rendered it utterly impossible with safety to the schooner and ourselves to pick the galley up, and she was lost.

29th July, 1·30 A.M. Anchored in Clarence Cove, Fernando Po, from which time to the 16th August we were employed in clearing out the two vessels, and with the assistance of the two engineers and artificers of the Soudan (the whole of our own people being sick) making Her Majesty's steam-vessel under my command sea worthy. While under refit, Mr. Becroft paid us a visit, and I took advantage of his presence and experience of the African character, to endeavour to obtain further information from the prisoners I had brought down respecting Mr. Carr.

They confirmed their former statements as to King Boy being in possession of the white man's clothes, but they denied their ever having heard of the white man's murder, and expressed their belief that King Boy had had nothing improper to do with the business. Finding that I could not elicit anything satisfactory from these people, I determined to discharge them before I quitted Fernando Po for a passage back to their country; meanwhile they worked among the crew as supernumeraries, and were at liberty as the rest. I cannot, however, close my notice of Mr. Carr without stating my belief that King Boy is acquainted with all the particulars of Mr. Carr's fate, and I must also think that he took an active part in the business.

I trust their Lordships will be of opinion that I prosecuted this inquiry with zeal and with all the ability in my power, under the circumstances before detailed, and that I may be allowed to express my readiness to undertake further inquiry, should it be deemed necessary; observing that the easiness of access at any period of the year to both localities (Bassa Creek and Brass Town) would render such further inquiry a matter of little difficulty; and it might be completed, as to information, in about ten days.

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On the 12th August Mr. Webb, clerk in charge, was seized with fever. On the 20th I proceeded in the Wilberforce on a cruize towards the Isle of Princes. I did this in consequence of a representation from Mr. Stirling (the assistant surgeon who rejoined on the 10th and relieved Mr. Hensman, who was discharged to sick quarters) that the sick, instead of advancing in convalescence, were relapsing, and that a change of air was necessary. I was, moreover, induced by a report from Lieutenant Earle, commanding Her Majesty's brig Rapid, who had arrived on the 3rd on his way to meet us at the river Nun, that I should probably meet Captain Foote, the senior officer; in this object, however, I was disappointed.

On the 22nd, at 10 P.M., we anchored in West Bay, Princes Island, and from noon of the 23rd to 3·15 P.M. of the 25th were cruizing off and on, and then anchored in Church Bay, where we remained until the 1st of September.

The air at this anchorage, noted for its salubrity, proved most beneficial to the sick. We returned to West Bay 1st September, and on the 2nd Her Majesty's brig Rapid arrived with a prize belonging to the Madagascar. The presence of another of Her Majesty's vessels enabled me to apply for a survey on the vessel under my command, which being ordered by Lieutenant Earle, a report, already transmitted for their Lordships' information, was obtained, by which the expediency of proceeding to England without loss of time was fully apparent. I should not, however, have quitted the station without orders from the senior officer, but that I had learnt from Lieutenant Kingston, the officer in charge of the prize, that there was no probability of Captain Foote being at this point of the station for a considerable time; and I considered that any such delay at this season, for a mere, though important point of form, would be incurring an unwarrantable risk of irreparable injury to the vessel, whose defects it was impossible to repair effectually on the coast, there being neither materials nor requisite convenience; as well as sacrificing the health of the crew, already greatly impaired by the unwholesomeness of the climate.

I therefore determined to return to Fernando Po, to replenish our stock of coals and prepare the vessels for the passage across the Atlantic, which being completed, we left Fernando Po on the 18th September for Sierra Leone.

On the 12th September Mr. Waddington, acting boatswain, died of the fever, and about the same time I sold the Amelia tender (being totally unfit for further service) to Mr. John Lilly, for 150*l*.

On the 22nd September died Mr. Webb, clerk in charge, whose remains were consigned to the deep on the 23rd.

On the 24th, in the evening, we anchored off Cape Coast Castle. Here we paid five Africans, who were to be discharged at this place, their home. Received wood for fuel.

The steering compasses having been found very erroneous and constantly varying, and the chronometer belonging to the vessel having become unserviceable by the breaking of the mainspring, I found it absolutely necessary to purchase a chronometer, to assist in the navigation of the vessel. This I effected for 78*l*., the lowest price for which I could obtain it.

We proceeded in the forenoon of the 28th of September for Cape Palmas, which we reached on the 3rd October. We lay to, and discharged ten Kroomen, first paying them their wages.

On the 7th October, 2·30 P.M., arrived at Sierra Leone, and discharged the model farm people. Having received supplies of provisions and wood for fuel, and discharged the remainder of the Africans engaged in the Expedition, and not having received any tidings of the senior officer, I proceeded, at 8·30 P.M. of the 15th October, for England, with a complement of 15 whites and 27 Africans, pursuing the in-shore track. We arrived at Teneriffe on the 27th, and after receiving 10 tons of coals, we proceeded to Madeira, experiencing half a gale of wind from the N.E. on our way.

We arrived at Madeira on the 31st October, at 8 A.M., and having replenished with provisions and fuel, and received 22 distressed British subjects by the request of Her Majesty's Consul, we proceeded on the 6th November, and reached Plymouth on the 17th, after a boisterous passage.

We found the compasses very erroneous, varying from three to four points between N. and S.E., occasioning considerable deviation in our course (to the extent of 150 miles); in fact, the vessel was navigated from Madeira by the aid of the boat's compass, secured to the cabin skylight.

Having thus detailed the particulars of my proceedings whilst in command of

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Her Majesty's steam-vessel Wilberforce, I feel it my duty to bring before the notice of their Lordships my opinion of the conduct and behaviour of the officers and men employed under my command. I have to regret the loss of two officers, viz., Mr. Waddington, acting boatswain, and Mr. Webb, the clerk in charge, both from the effects of the climate acting upon debility occasioned by extraordinary exertions in the discharge of their respective duties. To Mr. Waddington I felt indebted for his zeal and ability, in having, after we had struck, proceeded to the confluence and brought down the schooner to our aid; moreover, his knowledge of the river rendered his services of the highest value. He has left a widow and children unprovided for; these I would recommend to the favour of their Lordships.

I had to call upon Mr. Webb for exertions beyond the routine of his duty; these exertions were ever cheerfully rendered, and proved extremely useful.

The first and second engineer fell ill of the fever before we left the confluence, and remained on the sick list until we left the coast; each however did his best under most pressing and harassing circumstances, and I would recommend most particularly the zeal and intelligence of Mr. Johnstone, the first engineer. The third engineer discharged the whole of the duties of the engineer's branch from the 21st to the 27th of July, and I cannot sufficiently approve of his zeal in rendering assistance to repair the damage sustained by striking on the reef, even while labouring under sickness, which ultimately laid him up and deprived me of his services.

Mr. Davey, the acting carpenter, deserves my strongest commendation, and was of the utmost assistance to me in the duties of the vessel before leaving Fernando Po, and subsequently previous to her being paid off.

The crew in general (composed of Africans and weak as to number) behaved to my satisfaction. I think it right to mention that Mr. Hensman (Surgeon of the West African Company, and Acting Assistant Surgeon of the Wilberforce during the absence of Mr. Stirling, with whom he had exchanged duties) rendered me valuable aid, and was unremitting in his attentions to the sick whilst able, but he also fell ill, and suffered severely until relieved by Mr. Stirling, with whose exertions on behalf of the sick I have great reason to be satisfied.

I think it due to the zealous exertions of the engineers of the Soudan, Mr. John Chesters, first engineer, Mr. James Kelby, second engineer, Mr. Edward Webster, third engineer, employed to repair the defects of the Wilberforce at Fernando Po, to state that they were unremittingly employed fromth e 8th to the 11th of August, in fixing a plate outside over the defective part; this service was rendered peculiarly difficult by the want of a slip, upon which the vessel might have been hauled and the general want of every convenience for effecting such repairs.

I have thus and to the best of my ability detailed my proceedings, and their consequences. I trust their Lordships will find reason to approve of my conduct, and that I may be permitted to express my readiness to be employed in any way their Lordships may think my services can be useful.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) W. H. WEBB, Lieut.,

late in Command of Her Majesty's Steam-vessel Wilberforce.

To the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Sub-Enclosure in No. 47.

To His Majesty Assima Azaiki, King of Rabbah.

Sub-Encl. in No. 47.

By virtue of the power invested in me, William Henry Webb, Lieutenant, commanding Her Britannic Majesty's steam vessel Wilberforce, by Her most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, Queen of England, to conclude a Treaty with the King of Rabbah for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and the encouragement of lawful commerce with the interior of Africa.

I, by the hands of John Finlay (a subject of your Majesty, and late a servant of my sovereign) humbly beg to send your Majesty a present in the name of my Queen, regretting that in consequence of my crew being sickly, I am unable to visit your Majesty in person.

In the name of my Sovereign I also would beg to impress upon your Majesty the hope that the objects which have brought the white men up this river, will have their due weight, and induce your Majesty to afford every protection and indulgence to the natives surrounding the colony we established, who always proved good neighbours to our settlers, and therefore have become friends of Her Britannic Majesty,

Should any further attempt be made by "white men" to visit the settlement, I am convinced by your Majesty's previous conduct "in desiring that your soldiers and subjects

should not molest the white men's settlement" (for which in the name of my Sovereign, I return you thanks) that your Majesty will ever retain the same friendly disposition towards them.

And I further trust your Majesty will continue to earn the esteem of my Sovereign by using every effort in yonr power to better the condition of your subjects in teaching them the advantages they will derive by substituting legitimate barter with the "white men," or those of your Majesty's countrymen who have experienced the blessings of a peaceable and secure government under my Sovereign's rule, for that of the horrible traffic in hnman beings.

Wishing your Majesty all health, prosperity and happiness, in the name of my Sovereign, Her Britannic Majesty, Queen Victoria,

I have, &c.,

(Signed) W. H. WEBB, Lieut., commanding Her Majesty's steam-vessel Wilberforce.

Confluence of the Niger and Tchadda, 21st July, 1842.

No. 48.

COPY of a LETTER from JAMES STEPHEN, Esq. to Sir JOHN BARROW, Bart.

Sir, Downing-street, 27th January, 1843.

HAVING laid before Lord Stanley your letter of the 11th instant, with the copy therein enclosed, of Lieutenant Webb's voyage up the Niger, in execution of the instructions given to him to communicate with the model farm, I have received his Lordship's directions to request you will state to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that he feels happy to express his approval of that officer's proceedings. No. 48.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAMES STEPHEN.

Sir John Barrow, Bart.
&c. &c.

No. 49.

COPY of a LETTER from EDWARD N. BUXTON, Esq., to Lord STANLEY.

My Lord, 15, Parliament-street, 16th December, 1842.

I HAVE the honour to address your Lordship on behalf of the gentlemen interested in the model farm at the confluence of the Niger and Chadda, for the purpose of stating that they having learnt, with deep regret, that Mr. Carr, the superintendent, who entered the river Nun, in a native canoe, in November, 1841, for the purpose (after a short absence) of returning to the farm, had not reached it at the period of the recent departure of Her Majesty's steam-vessel Wilberforce, from thence, they have great reason to fear he may have been murdered on his passage up, yet there being a possibility that he may merely be held in captivity, the subscribers to the farm have resolved to offer a reward of 2,000 dollars for his recovery, and they have accordingly issued notices to that effect, and I am to solicit the favour of your Lordship to give directions that copies of the said notice may be communicated to the officers of Her Majesty's ships on the West African station, and that they be requested to afford their assistance in obtaining the object in view. No. 49.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDW. N. BUXTON.

P.S. Printed copies of the notice mentioned above shall be sent to the Admiralty, should your Lordship be pleased to comply with my request.

The Right Hon. Lord Stanley,
&c &c. &c.

Enclosure in No. 49.

2000 DOLLARS REWARD.

Model Farm in Africa.

THE subscribers to the above named farm established at the confluence of the Niger and Chadda, having received intelligence by Her Majesty's ship Wilberforce, recently returned from thence, that Mr. Alfred Carr, the superintendent of the said farm, who, with his African ser- Encl. in No. 49.

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vant, entered the river Nun in a native canoe, in the mouth of November, 1841, for the purpose of returning to the farm after a short absence, had not reached it when the Wilberforce left in July last; and although there is much reason to fear he may have been killed on his passage up, yet, the subscribers entertaining a hope that he may be still alive, though held in captivity,

THIS IS TO GIVE NOTICE,

That should such be the case, the above reward of 2000 dollars will be paid to any person who shall procure the liberation of the said Mr. Alfred Carr, upon producing a certificate of the fact signed by himself.

Application to be made to the bankers, Messrs. Barnett, Hoares, Barnett, and Bradshaw, bankers of London.

(Signed) On behalf of the Subscribers,
W. COOK,
Late one of Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Expedition to the Niger.

No. 50.

COPY of a LETTER from G. W. HOPE, Esq. to E. N. BUXTON, Esq.

Sir, Downing-street, 26th December, 1842.

No. 50. LORD STANLEY has desired me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th instant, enclosing a printed notice of an offer of a reward of 2,000 dollars for the recovery of Mr. Carr, the superintendent of the model farm at the confluence of the Niger and the Chadda, who is supposed to have been murdered in his passage up the river Nun, and requesting that copies of that notice may be communicated to the officers of Her Majesty's ships on the Western African station. His Lordship directs me to request you will inform the gentlemen interested in the success of the model farm, that he will be happy to promote their views in this matter by transmitting, with the requisite instructions, to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, any number of notices they may propose to send, which it will be better, therefore, to forward at once to this office. His Lordship will also cause a portion of them to be sent to the Governor of Sierra Leone, in order that they may have all possible publicity given to them.

I am, &c.

E. N. Buxton, Esq. &c. &c. G. W. HOPE.

No. 51.

COPY of a LETTER from JAMES STEPHEN, Esq., to Sir JOHN BARROW, Bart.

Sir, Downing-street, 10th January, 1843.

No. 51. THE gentlemen interested in the success of the model farm at the confluence of the Niger and Chadda having determined to offer a reward for the recovery of Mr. Alfred Carr, the superintendent, who entered the river Nun in a native canoe in November, 1841, but has not since been heard of, I am desired by Lord Stanley to request you will move the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to give directions for the accompanying printed notices to be communicated to the officers of Her Majesty's ships on the Western African station, who should at the same time be instructed to give them all possible publicity, and to take every means in their power for rescuing Mr. Carr from captivity, should that be his present condition.

In Mr. Buxton's, 27 Dec.

I am, &c.,

Sir John Barrow, Bart., &c. &c. &c. (Signed) JAMES STEPHEN.

No. 52.

No. 52. Captain Trotter's Report.

To the Right Hon. Lord STANLEY, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, a Report of Proceedings from Captain TROTTER, R.N., First Commissioner of the Niger Expedition.

My Lord, Richmond Hill, Surrey, March 15th, 1843.

AGREEABLY to the general instructions furnished to the Commissioners of the Niger Expedition previous to their departure from England, I have the honour

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to lay before your Lordship a report of such of my proceedings, as First Commissioner, as have not been included in our general despatches.

I shall commence by briefly referring to the arrangements which were made before the Expedition left England.

Her Majesty having directed Her Ministers to enter into treaties with the Chiefs of various African States for the abandonment and prohibition of the Slave Trade, and the establishment of friendly and commercial relations between those countries and Great Britain, I had the honour of being nominated, in September, 1839, to the command of the Expedition to be sent to Africa for that purpose; and at the same time Commander William Allen, Commander Bird Allen, and Mr. William Cook were named to be my associates in a commission for negotiating conventions with the Chiefs of those states situated on the Western Coast of Africa, within the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and on the parts adjacent to the river Niger and its tributaries.

The month of March was at that time considered to be the best period of the year for entering the Niger, and Her Majesty's Government being desirous that the Expedition should take advantage of the first season, it was important that no time should be lost in commissioning proper ships for the purpose.

The Government had decided that three steam-vessels should be employed on the Expedition, and as there were none in Her Majesty's navy suitable for this service, the Board of Admiralty determined, if possible, to hire or purchase them. To effect this object Lord Minto sent me with Commander William Allen to visit the various sea-ports of the kingdom. No vessels could, however, be found, excepting such as would have required very great alterations to render them fit for the service, and would, even then, have only imperfectly answered; and as the success of the Expedition was likely to depend much on the efficiency of the means employed, and the loss of a season could not be set against the risk of failure from inefficient vessels, it was considered expedient to construct three iron steam-vessels in a manner which should be in every way adapted to the peculiar service on which they were to be employed.

Iron vessels were preferred to wooden ones on account of the greater facility of repairing them when damaged, as well as for their superior buoyancy. The quality of buoyancy was particularly desirable on account of the known shallowness of the Niger; and in order to fit the vessels still more for the navigation of such a river, they were to be constructed with perfectly flat bottoms, whilst their qualities as sea-boats, and their steerage in deep water, were to be improved by sliding keels, and the adaptation of tails to the rudders.

In order still more to lessen the draught of water, it was considered desirable to give the vessels a comparatively small steam power, more especially as the contraction of the engine-rooms consequent upon this would, at the same time, afford greater space for the accommodation of the officers and crew, and for the stowage of the large quantity of provisions and stores which it would be necessary to carry.

Though by adopting engines of a newer construction, a larger power might have been obtained in the same space, without much increase of weight, it was considered advisable to have engines of the old construction, as none of the others had been sufficiently tried; and on a long voyage, where we should be out of the reach of getting accidents repaired, it was desirable to incur no risk of difficulties which any failure of the parts of engines on a new construction might have presented. The want of powerful engines was conceived to be of comparatively little importance, on account of the moderate velocity of the current of the Niger, and the necessity of proceeding at a cautious speed in a river the navigation of which had been very imperfectly explored, while, should we meet with rapids, our speed could, if required, be materially increased by lightening the vessels.

The engines of the three vessels, and wherever it was possible their other equipments, were to be made precisely alike, so as to adapt each article to any one of the vessels, by which means the number and weight of the spare articles required for repairs would be materially reduced. The vessels were to be divided into water tight compartments in order both to strengthen their frames and to avoid the risk of foundering in the event of receiving serious damage under water.

No vessels of war had at this time been built of iron, and there were no facilities for the purpose at any of Her Majesty's dock-yards. Sir Edward Parry was therefore called upon by the Admiralty to give his opinion as to the most desirable size of the vessels to be constructed, and to report on the cost of building by contract, three which should combine all the desired properties.

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Encl. in No 2, *Vide* p. 3.

Sir Edward, after consulting with me, made his Report on the 14th November, 1839, but it was not until June, 1840, that a Parliamentary grant was voted, authorizing the Government to build the vessels and send out the Expedition.

In the latter month the Admiralty entered into a contract with Mr. John Laird, of Birkenhead, near Liverpool, and that gentleman, who had long enjoyed a high reputation for constructing iron steam-vessels, accordingly built three (two of exactly similar dimensions, and one of a smaller size) in conformity with specifications and estimates based on Sir Edward Parry's report.

The two larger vessels, named the Albert and the Wilberforce, were each furnished with two engines of 35-horse power each engine, and measured 457 tons. The smaller one, named the Soudan, had one engine only of the same power and measured 249 tons.

With a view to the health and comfort of the crews, attention was at an early period directed to the proper ventilation of the vessels. This was a point of great importance in vessels constructed with water-tight compartments, the iron partitions forming which, were necessarily brought up above the water line to a height considerably above the cabin deck, and thus prevented a free current of air through the vessel. Dr. Reid, who was consulted as to the best means to be employed for improving the ventilation, proposed an artificial plan of throwing air into the various compartments by means of fanners. This plan was finally adopted and carried out under his direction by Mr. Augustine Creuze, of Portsmouth Dockyard, who was appointed by the Admiralty for the purpose.

Considerable delay, however, occurred in the completion of the vessels, owing to the adoption of Dr. Reid's plan. In the estimates of the Niger Expedition, a certain sum had been set apart for the ventilation of the three vessels at a time when circumstances prevented Dr. Reid being consulted as to the expense that was likely to be incurred by it. When Dr. Reid afterwards made his estimate of the probable cost, it was found so greatly to exceed the sum which had been appropriated in the Parliamentary grant for that purpose, that the Board of Admiralty could not sanction the plan until it was decided from what fund the extra expense was to be defrayed. Hence arose the delay, for until this point was determined, the interior fittings of the vessels could not be proceeded with; so that although all the vessels were launched by the 10th of October, 1840, it was not till the end of February, 1841, that they were assembled in the Thames.

The delay, however, was not altogether to be regretted, for in this interval more correct information was received regarding the proper time of ascending the Niger. The consideration of this subject had naturally claimed from the earliest period my anxious attention. The month of March, as I have already stated, had at first been considered the fittest time for entering the river. Commander William Allen and other competent authorities had concurred in thinking that that month was the beginning of the healthy season immediately above the Delta, and it was well known to be healthy at that time at the mouth of the river.

Commander Allen had no personal knowledge of the depth of the water in the Delta in that month, but he entertained a belief, as I did myself, that a channel sufficiently deep might be found for the steam-vessels, although the river was known at that season to be nearly arrived at its lowest state.

Vide No. 7 and 9, p. 23.

Information, however, reached England early in 1841, which was entitled to the fullest confidence, showing that this latter impression was erroneous, and that there would not be water enough at the earliest till June. Indeed before leaving England, I learned that Captain Becroft's experience had led him to consider the beginning of July as the proper season to enter the river, of which fact I informed Lord John Russell in my letter to his Lordship of the 12th of May, 1841. Notwithstanding the delays that had occurred, I was still therefore in hopes of arriving at the mouth of the Nun, the branch of the Niger which the Expedition was to ascend, soon after the earliest time that the state of the river would allow us to go up without detention. The rains it was expected would then be in full force, but I was of opinion from my own experience, and that of others, that the rainy season in Africa was not unhealthy for Europeans, if due precautions were taken to keep them dry.

No. 19. *Vide* p. 29.

On the arrival of the vessels in the Thames, where they had been ordered round from Liverpool to try their engines and complete their crews, those equipments were furnished which, being peculiar to men-of-war, could be more conveniently provided in one of Her Majesty's dockyards, and had not therefore been included in the contract.

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These equipments, together with the correction of the compasses, occupied a considerable time, advantage of which was taken to extend the ventilation and to combine with it a plan, also proposed by Dr. Reid, for drying and purifying the air between decks, to be put into operation on the arrival of the vessels in the unwholesome parts of the Niger. This latter plan was one which many scientific men thought it advisable to try, and the Admiralty accordingly allowed the necessary apparatus to be supplied. Various other suggestions were also most readily adopted by that Board and the other departments of the Government, whenever the plans suggested could be shown to conduce to the health and comfort of the crews, or to the general efficiency of the Expedition.

Supplies of coals, provisions, and other stores were sent to the Cape de Verde Islands, Sierra Leone, and Cape Coast Castle: and a small brigantine, the Amelia, was purchased at Sierra Leone, to be ready on the arrival of the Expedition at that place to assist in conveying stores to the Niger, and to serve generally as a tender.

It was desirable to avoid as much as possible any delay after our arrival on the coast of Africa; and as it would probably occupy much time to procure proper interpreters from among the liberated Africans at Sierra Leone, I had some time previously to this requested the Rev. Mr. Schön, a member of the Church Missionary society at that place, to endeavour to find suitable persons before the Expedition should arrive there.

This gentleman, for whom, and for Mr. Crowther, a native catechist, the Church Missionary Society had obtained permission from the Government to accompany the Expedition (with a view of reporting on the practicability of the Society extending its operations in the interior of Africa), entered very warmly into my views on the subject, and took great pains to obtain properly qualified interpreters.

As we should require to take canoes up the river, and I knew from personal experience the superior quality of those on the Gold Coast, I wrote to Mr. President Maclean, requesting him to procure some to be in readiness on our arrival at Cape Coast Castle.

In addition to the facilities which these arrangements would afford, a transport was engaged, in order not only to carry out additional stores and to fill up the vessels at the mouth of the Nun with a full supply of fuel and provisions, but also to relieve them there of such of their stores as would not be required up the river.

No. 11.
Vide p. 24.

In order to avoid further delay by the vessels of the Expedition calling at Sierra Leone, the Admiralty had intended to give orders for this transport (the Harriot), which was a very fast-sailing vessel, to proceed there to take in the interpreters, and to return and meet the Expedition at the Cape de Verdes, but a series of south-westerly gales kept her so long in the Downs that this plan was necessarily abandoned, and she was detained to accompany the Soudan.

Encl. A and B.
Vide pp. 108—112.

A statement of the number of the crews, and lists of the officers and men of the Expedition are annexed to this Report (marked A and B). In addition to seamen and marines, a small number of the corps of Royal Sappers and Miners accompanied the Expedition for the purpose of blasting rocks and otherwise assisting in removing obstructions in the river.

I may remark that the marines instead of being embarked, as is usual, by rotation, were volunteers, as was the case with all other persons belonging to the Expedition. Double pay was given to the whites, to commence from the time of their leaving England, in consideration of the climate of the Niger being injurious to the European constitution.

It was intended to obtain Africans as part of the crews on our arrival at the coast, but a few coloured men were entered in England, who it was hoped, with the seamanship and experience of Europeans, would combine constitutions less liable to tropical diseases.

Besides the complement of officers appointed by the Government, several men of science, sent out by the African Civilization Society, accompanied the Expedition with a view of obtaining information respecting the countries which we were about to visit. These were Dr. Vogel, botanist; Dr. Stanger, geologist and explorer; Mr. Roscher, miner and geologist; Mr. Fraser, naturalist; and Mr. John Ansell, collector of plants.

The African Civilization Society, not only in this, but in numerous other instances, evinced the greatest readiness to co-operate with the Expedition; and besides contributing largely to furnish extra surgical and scientific instruments and medicines, so as to increase the means of the medical officers to make themselves useful to the natives of Africa, allotted 1000*l*., to be used as circumstances made it

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desirable, to aid exploring parties, or in any other way to advance the objects of the Expedition.

Another association, distinct from the African Society, but participating with it in the benevolent view of benefiting Africa, having been formed for the purpose of establishing a model farm on the banks of the Niger, the Admiralty granted a passage out to Mr. Alfred Carr, a West Indian gentleman of colour, entrusted with the superintendence of the proposed establishment, and also permitted some of the materials and implements which would be required, to be taken out in the Harriot.

On the 30th of March, 1841, the Soudan, Commander Bird Allen, being ready for sea, left Woolwich, and after some detention at Devonport by contrary winds, finally sailed from England on the 17th of April, in company with the Harriot transport, for Porto Grande in the Island of St. Vincent, one of the Cape de Verdes, which had been decided on as our first rendezvous. This place the Soudan reached on the 26th of May, after having been forced, through stress of weather, to put into Lisbon for repairs.

The Albert was ready for sea at the time the Soudan left Woolwich, but it was thought advisable for her to wait for the Wilberforce, Commander William Allen, which, having been launched several weeks later, had not then completed her equipments.

The Wilberforce being at length ready, the Albert and that vessel left Woolwich together on the 22nd of April, and, in pursuance of instructions from the Admiralty, proceeded to Devonport for final orders.

Mr. Cook, the fourth Commissioner, embarked here on board the Wilberforce; and the two Ashanti princes were received on board the Albert for a passage to Cape Coast Castle. South-westerly gales detained us at Devonport until the 12th of May, but this delay afforded us an opportunity of fitting the furnaces with tubes on a plan of Mr. Grant, of Clarence-yard, for injecting creosote oil upon the fires to assist the combustion of green wood, the only fuel we were likely to have up the Niger. These tubes had been previously ordered, but not being finished when the vessels left the Thames, were sent after us to Devonport.

The wind having at length become favourable, the Albert and Wilberforce left Devonport in company on the 12th of May, and after touching at Madeira and Teneriffe in order to prove the rates of the chronometers and to complete fuel, we arrived at Porto Grande in the Island of St. Vincent (Cape de Verdes) on the 3rd of June. We found here the Soudan and the Harriot, which had only arrived eight days before.

It was most desirable that the steam-vessels should be thoroughly cleared out and re-stowed; and those stores for which we anticipated no further use transferred to the transport before we reached the coast of Africa; and it was to effect this purpose that Porto Grande, the climate of which was known to be salubrious at this season, had been fixed upon as a rendezvous.

I had full reason to be satisfied with the selection of this place; for although these duties occupied a fortnight, and involved the necessity of the men being a good deal exposed to a hot sun, this was so far from producing any bad effect upon the health of the crew, that I rather conceived their constitutions were prepared by it for exposure to an African climate. I was so impressed indeed with this idea that in a letter which I wrote at the time to the Board of Admiralty, I took the liberty of suggesting that all cruizers going to the coast of Africa should touch, if the season admitted, at Porto Grande with this view.

As the presence on board of the majority of the officers at this time was unnecessary, many of them were usefully employed on shore in taking magnetic* and astronomical observations, while the medical and other scientific gentlemen attached to the Expedition were actively engaged in various parts of the island in the pursuits of their respective departments.

I here issued general orders for the guidance of the Expedition, having a special reference to the sanatary regulations to be observed on board the vessels. A copy of these general orders is annexed to this Report, marked C.

Encl. C.
Vide pp. 112—115.

On the 16th of June the vessels being again ready for sea, I directed the Soudan, which had less speed than the others, to go direct to Cape Coast Castle, and to be accompanied by the Harriot, in order to be supplied with coals during the passage, while I proceeded in the Albert to Sierra Leone, giving directions to the Wilberforce to follow me to that place after watering at the Island of St. Antonio.

* Commander W. Allen and Lieutenant Fishbourne took charge of the magnetic observations, and lost no opportunity of taking them, before, as well as after, entering the Niger.

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The Albert reached Sierra Leone on the 24th of June, and the Wilberforce two days afterwards; and on the 29th the Soudan unexpectedly put in, having parted from the Harriot in squally weather, and being consequently in want of coals.

I here found the advantage of having requested Mr. Schön to make inquiry before our arrival for interpreters, as he had found out a large number of intelligent persons, which made it only necessary to select afterwards from among them such as were best qualified. Thirteen in all were chosen from the following nations:—Ibo, Kakanda, Yariba, Bornu, Èggarrah or Igalla, Haussa, Nufi, Benin, and Fulah or Fulatah.* The Fulah interpreter, whose services Commander William Allen secured at the last moment before sailing, was the only individual who could be found in the colony who had ever visited Tomboktu.

The anxiety to join the Expedition was so great on the part of the liberated Africans, that we might have obtained any number we pleased. Besides those who were entered as interpreters, many others were taken in lieu of Kroomen, the better description of Kroomen not having volunteered so readily as they generally do for men of war employed to cruize on the coast.

During our stay at Sierra Leone, the Commissioners received much attention and kindness from Mr. Carr, the acting governor, who was anxious to do all in his power for the Expedition; and from him, as well as from the late Mr. Lewis, the Commissary Judge, and Dr. Ferguson, the head of the Medical Department, we derived many useful suggestions for our future intercourse with the natives. Little or no information, however, could be obtained concerning the countries situated on the higher parts of the Niger, between which and Sierra Leone there was no intercourse.

The Wilberforce on her passage from the Cape de Verdes, had seriously injured her foremast, the repair of which, together with the coaling and watering of the three vessels, and the fitting and loading of the Amelia tender, and taking on board the vessels some additional farm implements, kept us fully occupied during the time we were at Sierra Leone.

I sent Lieutenant Harston, with a party of men from the Albert, to take charge of the Amelia, and put on board of her 14 liberated Africans whom Mr. Carr, the Superintendent of the Model Farm, had engaged as farm labourers and mechanics. Three of these had wives, who accompanied them, together with two children.

Sierra Leone was at this time considered healthy, there being scarcely a case of fever in the colony. The rains had set in earlier than usual, and had hitherto been very heavy; but we were fortunate enough to arrive during an interval of tolerably fair weather, a circumstance which enabled us to carry on our operations without much interruption. No illness of any kind occurred on board the vessels during our stay at this place.

On the afternoon of the 3rd July, the Expedition put to sea. In order to save coal, our stock of which had been encroached upon by the arrival of the Soudan, the Wilberforce took her in tow, whilst the Albert towed the Amelia till we reached Cape Mesurada. Here I despatched the Soudan direct to Cape Coast Castle, and anchored with the other vessels till next day off the American settlement of Monrovia. I touched at this place to give Mr. Carr an opportunity of procuring men who understood the cultivation of cotton, as he had been unable to hire any persons of that description at Sierra Leone.

We met with marked attention and kindness from Mr. Buchanan, the Governor of Liberia, who entered very warmly into the spirit of the Expedition, and offered to promote our views as far as it was in his power. Mr. Carr succeeded in getting two volunteers for the farm, one of whom, Ralph Moore, an emigrant negro from the Mississippi, had been accustomed to the management of a cotton plantation. Many others could have been procured, had there been time to send to the adjacent Liberian settlements a few miles up the river St. Paul's.

On the 6th July we proceeded on our route to Cape Coast Castle, but contrary winds and currents obliged the Albert to put into Sinou (or Greenwell) for fuel, and the Wilberforce into Grand Bassa and Cape Palmas, three American settlements, whilst the Soudan, which had the largest proportion of coals, reached her destination without difficulty.

The Albert anchored in the roadstead of Cape Coast on the 19th July, where she found the Soudan and Harriot. The Amelia, which had been swept past the port by a strong current, arrived on the 22nd, and the Wilberforce on the 24th.

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* Sometimes *Filatah*, or (as at Egga) *Filani*.

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I was sorry to find that remittent fever had made its appearance on board the Wilberforce since parting company with her, and that seven of the coloured men entered in England (one of them a native of Haussa, who had been a long time in Europe), and five of her white crew had been taken ill. The coloured men had been attacked the most severely, and one of them (Henry Halbert), a woolly-haired Mulatto, born in England, had died of the disorder.

Dr. Pritchett, the surgeon, partly attributed this sickness to the unusually heavy rains they had met with on the coast, especially at Grand Bassa, during which the coloured men, as well as one of the white men beforementioned, had been exposed in bringing off wood to the steamer. While lying at Cape Coast, the Soudan also had one case of remittent fever, which Mr. Marshall, her surgeon, attributed to exposure to the sun. The patient was a West Indian, one of the black men entered in England. The Albert's crew were all healthy.

The sickness of the coloured men on this occasion shows, in some measure, that the constitution of the Negro, whether of African or American birth, requires an habitual residence in Africa to be entirely exempt from the fever of the country. This is found to be the case in Liberia, with the emigrants from North America; they all, with very few exceptions, have fever on their first arrival, and many die, but those that recover are said to stand the climate well afterwards.

The steamers here embarked the provisions and stores which had been sent out for them; and as the weather was fine, I thought it advisable to take in as many stores as possible from the Harriot, for I knew that at the mouth of the Nun we should have again to encounter the rainy season at its height, whereas since rounding Cape Palmas we had got out of the rains, which, at this season, entirely cease from Cape Palmas nearly to Cape Formosa. Our operations, however, were much impeded by the heavy rolling of the vessels.

Mr. President M'Lean afforded us every facility in completing our arrangements. The long experience of this gentleman in Africa enabled him to give us much useful information. During our stay, I accompanied him five miles into the country to see a plantation which had been carried on for some years at the expense of Mr. Swanzy, a merchant of the place. The generally flourishing appearance of the farm, although circumstances had prevented its being attended with profit, impressed me with a favourable idea of how much could be accomplished by native industry, particularly when under the direction of an European, as was the case here. Mr. M'Lean, indeed, was of opinion that white superintendance would be essential to the success of any similar experiment up the Niger.

While lying here Mr. Marshall, surgeon, and Mr. Webb, mate of the Soudan, expressed their readiness, if it were thought desirable in order to obtain information, to make their way overland from Cape Coast Castle to the upper part of the Niger, where they might embark in canoes and meet the steam-vessels on their ascent, but I could scarcely have dispensed with their services, even if the plan had been practicable, which Mr. M'Lean considered it was not. I allude, however, to the circumstance to show the zeal of these officers.

Before we left Cape Coast Castle, Captain Tucker, of H. M. S. Iris, put into the roadstead. This officer was most desirous of forwarding our views in every way. He had already given instructions to the commanders of the vessels on the station to afford us every assistance we required; and an Admiralty order, that a cruizer should be stationed at the mouth of the Nun whilst the Expedition was in the river, had been entirely anticipated by the system of blockade which he had adopted.

The vessels, as soon as they were ready, proceeded along the coast to Accra; the Albert, Soudan, and Amelia, sailing for that place on the 30th July; the Wilberforce and the Harriot on the 31st. Our object in calling at Accra was to take in live stock, and also the canoes which had been here purchased for us by Mr. M'Lean. This gentleman, anxious to the last to render us all possible assistance, accompanied us from Cape Coast to this place. Several Fantees joined the Expedition at Cape Coast and Accra.

On the 4th August we sailed for the mouth of the Nun, which the Albert reached on the 9th. I found the Harriot already there, as well as Her Majesty's brigantine Buzzard, Lieutenant-Commander Reginald T. J. Levinge. The rest of the Expedition arrived on the following day.

On this part of the coast we once more encountered the rainy season, and I never remember seeing heavier torrents of rain than on the day the Albert anchored off the mouth of the Nun. The sea was so heavy in-shore that the vessels were obliged to anchor nine miles out, and even there the rolling was so violent as to

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make the communication between the vessels very hazardous. Happily there was a cessation of rain at intervals, which facilitated our operations.

On the 13th August the Albert and Soudan, having received their supplies of coals and stores, and transferred to the Harriot some remaining articles which were not required for river service, got under weigh with the Amelia, and crossed the bar. The Albert was piloted by Lieutenant Levinge, and came to an anchor with the tender inside. The Soudan, instead of anchoring, proceeded a few miles higher up, to sound Louis Creek, the first shallow channel through which the Expedition had to pass, and unfortunately ran on a mud-bank, where she lay all night. The Wilberforce passed the bar on the 15th.

All the three steam-vessels, on their voyage to the river, had lost the tails of their rudders, by which accident their steerage, especially that of the two larger vessels, had been considerably affected. A sandy beach, with six feet rise and fall of tide, here gave us an opportunity of laying them aground to repair. As we should not have the means up the river of remedying any defect of this kind, it was necessary to effect the requisite repairs at this place in such a substantial manner as would prevent a recurrence of the accident. The part of the beach selected was just within Cape Nun, and constantly exposed to the sea-breeze. The Albert was laid aground before the Wilberforce crossed the bar, but the beaching of the Wilberforce could not be effected until the 18th, in consequence of a heavy swell which had set in. The Soudan, being engaged in communications with the Harriot, was not beached till the 19th, but her new rudder tail having been in the mean time prepared with the assistance of the Albert's engineers, she was got off on the same day, and on the evening of the 19th all the vessels were ready to ascend the river.* Before we began the ascent, the Harriot was despatched to Fernando Po.

The Nun, from the anchorage inside the bar, presents the same general appearance with the neighbouring rivers, the banks presenting a luxuriant foliage, consisting chiefly of mangroves, interspersed with oil and cocoa-nut palm trees, reaching down to the water's edge. Scarcely a hut is to be seen from the anchorage. The inhabitants, few in number, reside chiefly in two villages on the left bank, near the sea, one of which is called Acassa. They carry on some little trade with the natives higher up the river, and get provisions in return, but their trade with Europeans is inconsiderable.

Though the bar of the Nun has as much water on it as the bar of the Bonny, ships experience great difficulty in getting out, owing to the tide setting strongly across the channel, and to this may be attributed the smallness of the palm-oil trade of this river.

During our stay the Governor of Acassa paid a visit to the ships, and received small presents. We availed ourselves of the services of one of his pilots to send a message to "King Boy," Chief of Brass Town, whose authority extends over all the neighbouring waters. Brass Town is situated to the eastward of the mouth of the Nun, at a distance of about 30 miles, the intermediate communication being by creeks navigable for canoes. It is a few miles distant from the sea, and the Chief carries on a considerable palm-oil trade in the Niger as far up as Aboh, and also between the rivers Nun and Bonny.

"King Boy" has long been notorious for dishonesty, but although the Commissioners were aware of this, as they were within the limits of his jurisdiction, and as his influence is felt, more or less, all the way up to Abòh (Ibo, or Eboe), we deemed it of importance to be on good terms with him, and, if possible, to prevail on him to accompany us to Abòh. With this view we invited him to visit us, but he excused himself under the plea that he was engaged in a religious service which would occupy him a week. I sent back a small present by the person who brought his answer, with a message that if he did not come immediately we should have proceeded up the river. He did not, however, come, but sent his son with a present of two sheep. Whether he was prevented by fear, or from his being really engaged in any religious ceremony, we were not able to ascertain. We were inclined to believe that he was alarmed at hearing of so many vessels having come without the intention of trading with him; this opinion was strengthened by the circumstance of two pilots, who had come in the canoe with the Governor of Acassa, and who had promised to accompany us to Abòh, having ultimately refused to do so, though one of them afterwards followed us about 24 miles up the river.

Dr. M'William vaccinated many persons in the neighbourhood of Acassa: he

* The new tails of the Albert's and Soudan's rudders were of iron. The Wilberforce made her's of wood, which was more easily done, but was not found durable afterwards at sea on account of worms.

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was readily allowed to perform the operation, his doing which gave much satisfaction. While on shore this officer had an opportunity of examining several pools of water that had been stagnant since the preceding spring-tides, but could detect nothing peculiarly unwholesome, there being no indication of the presence of sulphuretted hydrogen, which had been supposed to be a cause of the unhealthiness of these rivers.

While lying here we had the misfortune to lose Mr. Bach, mathematical instrument maker. His death, though occasioned by fever, was not attributable to the climate, but to a debilitated constitution.

On the 19th of August, 1841, I took advantage of the high tide in the afternoon to tow the Amelia, which drew much more water than the steamers, through Louis Creek. We got through the channel before sunset, and came to an anchor seven or eight miles above the mouth of the river. The Wilberforce and Soudan followed the next morning.

We were now entering upon the more immediate field of our labours,—upon one of acknowledged difficulty and danger;—and I thought it a fit occasion for general prayer throughout the Expedition. Accordingly, previous to commencing the ascent of the river, a prayer, which the Rev. Mr. Müller, the chaplain, had at my desire framed for the occasion, was offered up on board each vessel.

Lieutenant Levinge, of the Buzzard, desirous of being useful to us till the last, accompanied us a short distance in our progress up, and took leave of us with three hearty cheers, taking our letters for England. I should not be doing justice to this officer were I not to acknowledge here, in the strongest terms, the obligations we were under to him for his zealous co-operation with us in every way during our detention at the mouth of the Nun.

The voyage to Abòh occupied us from the 20th to the 26th of August, but as it presented few incidents, I shall not enter into a detailed report of our daily progress through the Delta.

The weather throughout was remarkably pleasant, with generally only sufficient rain to cool the atmosphere, and there was a refreshing breeze, which we enjoyed the more as it was in our favour, and enabled us frequently to make use of our sails. Every one was in the highest spirits, cheered by the novelty and beauty of the scenery and by the exhilirating feeling of the air, which to our senses appeared perfectly salubrious, and it was difficult to imagine that it could be otherwise.

For the first few miles there was a want of animation, few birds or living things of any kind being seen, and only a single canoe, the solitary occupant of which paddled as fast as he could into the mangroves, to avoid the steam-vessels. A lonely hut appeared occasionally, with its floor scarcely out of the water: the few inhabitants, who were generally quite naked, appeared much alarmed at our approach. The stream on each side was lined with mangroves, with oil palms and other trees appearing occasionally amongst them.

As we proceeded upwards from Sunday Island,* where the influence of the tides gives place to the constant downward current of the river, a marked change took place in the scenery. The banks began to be slightly elevated above the water, and instead of the mangrove a variety of beautiful palms and other trees formed a forest so dense, that for upwards of 100 miles, except where spots were cleared for cultivation, the eye could not penetrate more than a few yards beyond the water's edge. These cleared spots, containing yams, cocoas, cassadas, Indian corn, plantains, and occasionally sugar-cane, began to appear immediately after leaving Sunday Island, and gradually became more frequent. Solitary huts were now succeeded by clusters, and clusters of huts by villages, the villages became larger and more populous, while the natives showed themselves less timid, and often came off in their canoes to hold intercourse with us. For the first 50 miles there was little appearance of trade; but afterwards large canoes were seen carrying palm-oil, destined for Brass Town and Bonny.

The plan of proceeding which I determined to adopt in our progress up the river was to weigh every morning at daylight, which was about half-past five o'clock, having first issued to each man a cup of coffee, and also quinine when recommended by the surgeon. We continued under steam through the day, never stopping but when it was desirable to take observations for ascertaining the latitude and longitude, or where a good opportunity was afforded of communicating with the natives. Their timidity, however, especially in the lower parts of the river, was such that

* All the *English* names of places are taken from Lieutenant (now Captain) William Allen's Chart of the "Quorra."

our intercourse produced little worthy of remark, though their disposition was invariably friendly.

The ventilation was always at work; and on anchoring, which we usually did before it became quite dark, such parts of the drying and purifying apparatus as were recommended by the medical officers were put into operation.

The officers during the day were mostly employed in recording the soundings, measuring the breadth of the river, estimating distances, and in such other operations as are usual in a running survey, which, while they were carried on without materially impeding our progress, were of the highest importance as furnishing elements of charts, and proved afterwards of great use on our return down the river.

This routine I purposed to continue without intermission, except on Sundays, on which day I determined to remain at anchor, unless peculiar circumstances should render it necessary to go on. This I did, not only with a view to the proper observance of the day, but to allow rest to the officers and men, and more especially to the engineers. The frequent shoaling of the water, by rendering it necessary for one of the engineers to be constantly below in readiness to ease or stop the engines, subjected them and the stokers to far greater exhaustion and fatigue than any one else on board, and rendered the husbanding their strength imperatively necessary.

Had I, when I arrived in the Delta, considered it to be as unhealthy as I had been led to expect when I left England, I should have considered it right to proceed without stopping, at the risk even of laying up the engineers; but there being no indication of an unwholesome atmosphere, so far as Dr. M'William's observations, which were very minute, could ascertain the fact, I did not, even in the Delta, deviate from this rule of giving rest to all hands on Sunday.

The cessation of the working of the engines did not, however, involve a cessation of the ventilating process; for although the engines, when at work, were the moving power of the fanners, the latter were not solely dependent on them, but could be turned by the revolution of the paddle-wheels put in motion by the force of the stream while the vessels were at anchor; the paddle-wheels being on these occasions disconnected from the engines.

Owing to the large quantity of stores and provisions with which they were laden, the steamers seldom made good more than from 25 to 30 miles a-day. One of the large vessels, usually the Albert, took the Amelia in tow, notwithstanding which her speed was equal to that of the Soudan.

We began our ascent of the river, as I have already stated, on the 20th August. On the afternoon of the 21st I had directed Commander Allen, of the Wilberforce, by signal, to look into a branch of the river on the right bank, which he accordingly did; but, as it proved, without understanding that I wished him to go only a short distance up and return. The three other vessels in the meanwhile continued their course, and anchored in the evening at the village of Assassi, 10 or 12 miles above the branch which the Wilberforce had entered, called by the natives Agobri.

I remained at anchor on Sunday, the 22nd, and also for a few hours on the following day, in expectation of the Wilberforce coming up to us; but at length, fearing that she might have got into difficulties, I returned with the Albert in search of her, leaving the Amelia to anchor till my return. After going a few miles up the branch which the Wilberforce had entered, I fired a few guns to denote our position; but as no answer was returned, I concluded she had followed out the channel, and accordingly resumed my course up the main stream, taking the Amelia in tow upon rejoining her about sunset.

The Soudan, in the mean time, had proceeded upwards till she arrived at the village of Sabogrega,* where she found a letter from Commander W. Allen stating his proceedings. The Wilberforce, after rather a circuitous route, had re-entered the main stream 20 miles above the place where she had left it, at a point opposite to this village, and had then proceeded up the river. The Soudan was returning to give me this intelligence, when she ran aground, and was still on the bank when I reached her in the evening. On the following morning the Albert assisted in heaving her off. These were the only delays that occurred in the Delta.

On the afternoon of the 26th August the Albert, the Soudan, and the Amelia reached the town of Abòh, 130 miles from the sea. This town has hitherto been called by Europeans Ibo, or Eboe, and was generally supposed to be the capital of the whole of the Ibo country; but we ascertained that its proper name is Abòh, and that it is the principal town of a territory of the same name, which forms a part only, and that probably the most western, of the Ibo country.

* Or Sabo-krugga.

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The Wilberforce had reached this place the night before. The circumstance which caused the delay of the other vessels has already been related.

At daylight on the morning after the arrival of the Wilberforce, Obi, Ossai (or sovereign chief, as the word Ossai denotes) of the Abòh country, sent his second son on board; and afterwards, on receiving an invitation, visited the ship himself, and expressed much pleasure at meeting Commander William Allen, whom he remembered to have seen in 1832, when that officer accompanied Messrs. Lander and Laird on their voyage up the river. The objects of the Expedition were briefly explained to Obi by Commander William Allen and Mr. Cook, and he was given to understand that he would hear full particulars on the arrival of the other vessels, which appeared in sight before he left the Wilberforce.

On the morning of the 27th August, Obi came on board the Albert, having previously intimated his intention of doing so. He was attended by several of his sons and a few of his head men, but without any pomp or state. With the exception of his dress, which was a British scarlet uniform coat and scarlet cloth trousers, his appearance was more that of a keen trader than of a sovereign chief of an extensive country. His manner, however, though friendly and unceremonious, showed a consciousness of power, and his attendants treated him with marked respect. On his arrival on board the Albert he was conducted to a chair at the after-part of the vessel, and seated himself with the Commissioners under the awning, whilst his attendants stood or sat down on the deck.

We were anxious to lose no time in bringing the objects of the mission before the Chief; and as we found him quite ready to listen to them, we entered at once upon the subject.

No. 23.
Vide p. 32.
Vide also Minutes, No. 4, pp. 140—5.

As our proceedings with respect to the Treaty which we formed with Obi are detailed in the letter of the Commissioners to Lord John Russell of the 30th August, 1841, I shall only here state that the negotiations detained us till the 28th, on which day we proceeded onwards towards Iddah.

We had entered Obi's country about 20 miles below the town of Aboh, where a branch goes off to Warree, and we came to its northern limits at the Oniah market, 170 miles from the sea. To what distance the Abòh country extends on each side from the river we had no means of ascertaining.

The banks of the river the whole way up to nearly the northern limit of the Abòh country, were perfectly flat, and presented, with few exceptions, a continuance of the same impenetrable forest that has been already described, which, though beautiful, and at first most pleasing to the eye, wearied it at length by its sameness. It was a great relief, therefore, to find the ground afterwards slightly elevated and undulating, and the country more open. On the 2nd of September we at length saw the high cliffs on which the town of Iddah stands, and detached hills appearing still higher up the river.

On the evening of that day the Albert, the Wilberforce, and the Amelia came to an anchor off the town, the Soudan arriving on the following morning.

Iddah, situated about 95 miles above Abòh, and 225 miles from the sea, is the residence of the Attàh, or sovereign chief, of the Eggarrah or Igalla country. This country, which lies along both banks of the Niger, extends from the O'niah Market on the south, where it is bounded by the Abòh country, to Buddu * on the north, at which place the Nufi country commences.

I could hear at least of no denial of the Attàh's authority within this limit, excepting on the right bank, immedialely opposite to Iddah, where the people professed allegiance to the King of Benin, though still styling the place where they lived the Èggarrah country.

The Eggarrah country is said to extend a short distance up the Chadda, and the Attàh claims tribute from the Chief of Fandah, his title to which we were told is not disputed.

Dr. M'William and Mr. Schön were deputed to wait on the Attàh on the morning of the 3rd of September, with a message from the Commissioners, to invite him on board the Albert. They experienced some difficulty in obtaining an interview, being taken, in the first instance, to the house of the Attàh's sister, a clever intelligent woman, by whose counsels it is said the Attàh was much guided. Here they were detained for some hours; they finally, however, succeeded, in seeing the Attàh, but he declined to go on board the Albert on the plea of its being contrary to etiquette for a king in his country to go on the water.

We were inclined to attribute these delays on the Attàh's part to his wish to obtain as much information as he could beforehand respecting our purpose in

* Called Kakanda in Lieut. Allen's Chart of the Quorra.

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coming to his country; for his reception of us afterwards, though much appearance of state was kept up, was very cordial.

On the 4th of September the Commissioners went on shore by appointment, to visit the Attàh, accompanied by several of the officers of the Expedition, and escorted by a marine guard. The Chief had ordered horses to be in readiness to take the Commissioners to his residence, but by some mistake they were not sent in time. We were taken in the first instance, as the deputation had been the day before, to the house of the Attàh's sister, but shortly afterwards received a summons from the Attàh, and were conducted to his residence, where we found him surrounded by the principal people of the place. We here entered on the subject of our mission, and on the sixth of September concluded a Treaty similar in all respects to the one we had formed at Abòh, excepting that in an Additional Article we obtained permission to purchase for her Majesty any land in the Attàh's territory that we might consider suitable for the erection of forts.

Our negociations respecting this treaty being detailed in the letter of the Commissioners to Lord John Russell, dated the 8th of September, 1841, I beg leave to refer your Lordship to that Despatch for further particulars.

No. 26. *Vide* p. 37; *vide* also Minutes of Commissioners' proceedings, (sitting of the 3d September, 1841, continued,) pp. 145—9.

On the 6th of September, previous to going on shore at Iddah to complete the Treaty, I gave orders for the Wilberforce and Soudan to proceed up the river. The Soudan accordingly did so, but the Wilberforce, after getting under weigh, ran upon the point of English Island, and was detained two days in consequence, during which time the Albert remained to assist in getting her afloat. This, after the utmost exertions on the part of her officers and crew, was not effected till the 8th, when we followed the Soudan up the river.

When the article of the Treaty respecting the purchase of land was under discussion, the Attàh offered to send up accredited agents to define the boundaries, and make over to us any land we might select. We were accordingly accompanied up the river by the second judge, and were followed by the Attàh's secretary in his canoe. A mallam or priest, a confidential friend of the Attàh, also took a passage in the Albert on his own business.

On the 10th of September, after passing through a romantic part of the river with lofty hills on each side rising at times from the water's edge, we reached the confluence of the Niger and Chadda, having shortly before come up with the Soudan, and on the 11th the vessels of the Expedition were all assembled off the ruins of the town of Adda-Kuddu.

In their Despatch of the 16th of September, the Commissioners informed Lord John Russell of their having obtained a grant of land for Her Majesty situated on the right bank of the river near Adda-Kuddu, and embracing Bàraga or Beaufort Island. The reasons which determined us to secure the possession of this district are there stated, as likewise the circumstance of Mr. Carr, the superintendent of the model farm, having fixed upon a part of it as a convenient site for his proposed establishment.

No. 27. *Vide* p. 41; *vide* also Minutes, No. 5. p. 149.

Mr. Carr at first selected Adda-Kuddu itself for this purpose, the soil being richer than any we had seen since leaving the Delta, and the various implements and stores belonging to the farm were accordingly landed there; but on further examination the ground was considered to be too much interspersed with rocks to be favourable for the cultivation of cotton, and on proceeding with the Commissioners a few miles further up the river in the Wilberforce Mr. Carr ultimately selected Mount Stirling, a place equally within the limits of our purchase.

The farm stores and utensils were accordingly re-embarked at Adda-Kuddu, and again landed at the new site.

On the 16th of September the Commissioners having finally concluded the purchase of land for Her Majesty with the agents of the Attàh, and all the necessary arrangements respecting the model farm being nearly completed, it was resolved at a meeting of the Commissioners that Commander Bird Allen and myself should proceed up the Niger, whilst Commander William Allen and Mr. Cook should form a sub-commission and ascend the Chadda.

Vide Minutes, No. 6, p. 150-1.

In the event of the Albert's progress beyond Rabba being stopped by rocks or other impediments in the navigation, it was my intention, if found practicable, to dispatch one of our forty-feet galleys to proceed further up the river; and it became necessary before parting with the Wilberforce, to make arrangements to have a sufficient number of officers and men to detach on this service. For this purpose I directed that Lieutenant Strange, whom I had selected to take charge of the boat party, should join the Soudan, where his services would be available in the mean time, on account of the illness of Lieutenant Ellis, and transferred Mr. Fairholme (mate) from the Amelia to the Albert, with the view of his accompanying him.

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John Waddington, quarter-master of the Wilberforce, was also taken on board the Albert for the same purpose, as well as two of the corps of sappers and miners, and James Peters a black seaman of the Haussa country. Dr. Stanger and Mr. Woodhouse, with a portion of the crew of the Albert, were also to form part of the boat party.

Lieutenant Harston at the same time joined the Wilberforce, and I put the Amelia under the charge of Mr. Webb (mate), and appointed Mr. Collman assistant surgeon to her. At Mr. Carr's request I arranged that the Amelia should be left at anchor off the model farm for its protection during the absence of the steam-vessels up the river. A copy of the instructions which I gave to Mr. Webb on this occasion is annexed, marked D.

Encl. D.
Vide p. 115.

I allowed Mr. Kingdon, assistant clerk of the Soudan, at his own desire to join the Amelia. This gentleman had accompanied the Expedition with the view, if a proper opportunity presented itself, of remaining permanently up the river as a missionary, for which he was well qualified. Mr. Ansell, collector of plants, was also allowed to remain at the model farm at his own particular desire.

Some of these arrangements, before they could be carried into effect, were unhappily frustrated. Previous to this time fever had made its appearance in the Expedition. The first case in the river occurred on the 3rd of September on board the Soudan, on the day of her arrival at Iddah, and the disease spread almost simultaneously through the other vessels. Before they left Iddah a considerable number were on the sick list, and one of the Albert's white men had died there on the 6th of September.

We were still, however, sanguine that the progress of the disease might be arrested. The country about Iddah was flooded, but the river was still rising, which latter circumstance was considered to be conducive rather than otherwise to the healthiness of the climate; the country, too, through which we were about to pass was more open than below Iddah and the land higher. All these circumstances seemed to justify an expectation that as we ascended the river a purer atmosphere would be found. But our hopes that the progress of the disease might be in this way arrested were not destined to be realized; for by the time that the arrangements I have alluded to at the confluence were completed, one officer and seven men had died, and a large proportion of the crews were laid up with fever, many in a dangerous state, and the sick lists were still increasing.

On the 18th of September the number of sick amounted to sixty, and Dr. McWilliam having given me his opinion (as expressed in his letter to me of that date, a copy of which is herewith enclosed, marked E) that the best hope of their recovery depended upon their being sent to the sea, I gave instructions for the Soudan to be got ready for the reception of all those whom the surgeons might think it desirable to send away; and as the services of Commander Bird Allen would be required up the river in his capacity of Commissioner, I appointed Lieutenant Fishbourne to take temporary charge of that vessel.

Encl. E.
Vide p. 117.

I may here state that before coming to the determination of sending the Soudan away, I suggested to Dr. McWilliam the possibility that the air on the neighbouring hill (Mount Patteh) might afford sufficient change of air to produce a favourable effect on the sick if they could be removed there, but he said that having no experience of the climate of the hills he could only give the advice he had done; but had he even recommended a trial of the mountain air, I have great doubts if the removal of so many sick would have been practicable.

On the 18th, having informed the Commissioners of the determination I had come to of sending the Soudan to the sea, a meeting of the Commission was held, at which Commander William Allen and Mr. Cook expressed their opinions that the whole Expedition ought to return down the river; the former alleging as his reasons that the river would soon begin to fall, that the unhealthy season would in his opinion commence in October, and that the present sickness seemed still to be increasing, and that on these grounds he thought the decision the Commissioners had come to two days before ought not to be adhered to.

Vide Minutes of Commissioners' proceedings of the 18th September, 1841, p. 151.

Mr. Cook said that in his opinion to ascend the river under the above circumstances would paralyze future exertions, and prevent ultimate success, but that if we were now to withdraw we should be able to ascend again with renovated health.

Commander Bird Allen was of opinion that we ought to persevere at all events a week longer, to see what effect change of air might produce in checking the disease.

As we were well aware before we embarked upon the Expedition of the hazard we had to encounter from the climate, the objections of Commander William Allen and Mr. Cook did not appear to me of sufficient force to justify a retreat at so early a period, whilst so many of us were still in full health; and besides, being of opinion with Dr. M'William that we might possibly reach a healthier climate as we got higher up the river, I conceived that the measure of sending away the sick

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would restore such efficiency to the vessels as to afford a reasonable prospect of the Albert remaining up the Niger long enough to reach Rabba, and the Wilberforce a corresponding height in the Chadda, or, at all events, to justify our making the attempt.

I resolved, therefore, after recording the opinions of the Commissioners, that the same course should be followed in regard to the two larger vessels, which had been determined upon at the meeting of the 16th September.

Under this arrangement, Commander William Allen and Mr. Cook were still to form a sub-commission, and ascend the Chadda in the Wilberforce, while Commander Bird Allen was to proceed with me in the Albert up the Niger, it being understood that either vessel was to retire to the sea should circumstances render it necessary.

My belief that the measure of sending the sick to the sea, while it would benefit the sick themselves, would restore efficiency to the Expedition, was founded not only on the consideration that the removal of so many men, whose services were not likely to be soon available, would render the vessels more efficient than they were whilst the sick remained on board, but that the remainder of the crews who were still in health would be thus relieved from the depressing influence on the spirits occasioned by the presence of so many of their sick shipmates, and also that a predisposing cause of fever, in the closeness and impurity of the air, arising from a number of sick persons being closely crowded together, would be removed; while those patients, whose state did not require a removal to the sea, would be benefited, by being less crowded in sick quarters.

When the ascent of the Wilberforce up the Chadda had at this meeting of the Commissioners been decided on, it was resolved that a present should be sent to the King of Fundah, inviting him to appoint agents to confer with the Commissioners on the return of that vessel down the river. A small present was accordingly given in charge to the Mallam, who had accompanied us from Iddah, and as he was well aware of the objects of the Expedition, and was an honest friendly man, I have no doubt that he faithfully executed his commission.

On the 19th of September at noon the Soudan began her descent of the river, taking thirteen* cases from the Albert and six from the Wilberforce, besides her own sick, which included almost every one on board. Dr. Pritchett, of the Wilberforce, only decided to send away two of his patients, being of opinion that in general the sick would recover quite as well by remaining up the river, as by being sent to the sea; but I suggested to Commander W. Allen, the propriety of allowing any of the other patients to go down in the Soudan who might wish to do so, and four availed themselves of the offer. As soon as the Soudan parted company, the steam was got up in the Albert and Wilberforce, in order that they might proceed on their respective services, but before the anchors were weighed the second and third engineers of the Wilberforce were taken ill, and Commander William Allen came on board to report his vessel unfit to ascend the Chadda. I therefore ordered him to prepare at once to follow the Soudan to the sea. At the same time a special meeting of the Commission was held, at which Commander William Allen and Mr. Cook again urged the expediency of the whole Expedition retiring from the river, but as the Albert was still in a condition for service, I saw no reason for departing from my former resolution, especially when I remembered that Messrs. Lander and Laird's Expedition of 1833 had been in this very part of the river, and higher up, in the months of September and October, and the European crew during all that time had remained perfectly free from fever.

Vide Minutes of Commissioners' proceedings of the 19th September, 1841, p. 152.

On the afternoon of the same day the Albert was brought alongside the Wilberforce, and the following day, the 20th, was taken up in supplying the latter vessel with fuel, and in making other necessary arrangements. Lieutenant Harston having been sent away sick in the Soudan, Lieutenant Strange remained on board the Wilberforce; and Mr. Webb, having fallen sick, was removed from the Amelia to the Albert: the Amelia was then left in charge of Mr. Kingdon, the instructions which I had left for Mr. Webb being made over to him. Mr. Bowden, the secretary, Mr. Harvey, master of the Albert, and Mr. Collman, assistant surgeon of the Soudan, had in the mean while become so ill that it was necessary to transfer them to the Wilberforce, making 33 white persons on her sick list, including the commander and Mr. Cook. At the request of Commander William Allen I sent Mr. Woodhouse, the only remaining assistant surgeon of the Albert, down in the Wilberforce to assist Dr. Pritchett in the arduous dut is which thus devolved upon him.

* Two of these were coloured men entered in England.

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Mr. Cook's illness happily did not afterwards prove to be river fever, nor did Commander Allen's fever prove of so long continuance or so debilitating as most of the other cases, for on the day he reached the mouth of the river he was able to resume charge of the vessel, which from the day previous to her departure from the confluence had devolved upon Lieutenant Strange; but as he had become liable to attacks of fever which would soon have altogether incapacitated him for continuing his duties up the river, however much I regretted the loss of his services in exploring the Chadda, I could not but be glad that the return of the Wilberforce afforded him the means of getting to a better climate. Neither could I regret the departure of Mr. Cook, whose case at the time Dr. Pritchett had reason to fear was one of the prevailing endemic.

On the 21st of September, I placed my final instructions in the hands of Lieutenant Strange, to be delivered to Commander William Allen when he should be sufficiently recovered to attend to duty, and the Wilberforce then began her descent of the River. For an account of her passage to Fernando Po, as well as of that of the Soudan, I beg to refer your Lordship to my letter to the Admiralty, dated at Fernando Po, the 25th October, 1841, a copy of which is in the Colonial Office.

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Vide pp. 45—48.

There were at this time 39 Europeans on board the Albert, 17 officers and 22 men: six of these, including two engineers, were slightly ill with fever, but they declined availing themselves of the opportunity of returning in the Wilberforce, and Dr. M'William did not consider it necessary to send them away: all the rest were well excepting three or four who had had the fever, but were convalescent.

On the 21st, after the Wilberforce had left, I proceeded in the Albert up the Niger. In the course of that day Commander Bird Allen showed symptoms of fever, and on the following morning was entirely disabled from duty. Other cases, both among the officers and men, continued to occur, but judging it still right to endeavour to reach Rabba while any prospect of doing so remained, I continued the ascent, still hoping, with Dr. McWilliam, that we might find a better climate higher up the river.

On the 22nd the Albert arrived at the Gori market, situated on the right bank, about 30 miles above the confluence. The next morning a number of canoes came alongside, and amongst them one belonging to Ajimba, son of Ajiddi, the Chief of Mùye, a village of the Kakanda country, under the jurisdiction of the Attàh of Eggarrah. This canoe was returning from the Egga market, in the Nufi country, where, besides a cargo of horses and goods, Ajimba had purchased three slaves, one male and two females, whom he was bringing down the river. This was the first instance of a traffic in slaves which had come under my notice; and as Egga, where the slaves were purchased, is out of the Attàh's dominions, the carrying of them from one country to another was a decided breach of the treaty we had concluded at Iddah. I, in consequence, detained the canoe, and after a formal investigation on the quarter deck, liberated the slaves, keeping them on board the Albert; but as it appeared that Ajimba was in ignorance of the existence of the treaty, I thought it only just not to enforce the confiscation of the canoe and her cargo, to which penalty he had subjected himself.

The three slaves, natives of the Yarriba country, had cost 80,000 cowries,* which was a considerable loss to the owner, but it was nevertheless imperative on me under the treaty to liberate them, and Ajimba at once acquiesced in the justice of this decision, as did also the son of the Attah, who happened to be on the spot, and who at my desire attended the trial as the representative of his father. The Attah himself afterwards sent me a message expressing his entire concurrence in all my proceedings.

This transaction, taking place as it did when at anchor off a considerable market, whence the news would be widely spread, no doubt had a beneficial effect, as evincing a determination on our part to enforce the conditions of the Treaty. The minutes of the trial taken at the time are herewith enclosed, marked F. I eventually took the people I had thus liberated to Fernando Po, thereby indeed risking in some degree the misconstruction of my motives on the part of the natives who witnessed the transaction; but there was no alternative. I had no opportunity of returning them to their own country, and I knew were I to land them at Gori, where we then were, or at any of the other places which we afterwards reached, they would in all probability be seized again, as they were natives of a distant part of the Yarriba country, and totally ignorant of the languages spoken in this part of the Niger.

Encl. F.
Vide p. 118.

* Or £5, at the rate of 100 cowries for 1½*d.*, which was their cost to Government when bought in the London market in 1840, and which may perhaps be considered an average price in England.

I had not the advantage of Commander Bird Allen's advice on this occasion, as he was too unwell to be spoken to on the subject.

On the 24th we communicated with a Nufi village on the left bank, called Bezzani, containing about 200 inhabitants. The inhabitants were in a wretched state of poverty, being much harassed by the Fulatahs, who make such exactions upon the people in this part of the country as entirely to destroy all their energies, and discourage any exertions on their part to better their condition.

On the 25th we stopped to cut fuel at Kinami, a village on the right bank, inhabited also by Nufis, the population of which we estimated at about 1000. The inhabitants occupy themselves in weaving, and carry on some trade with Egga in country cloths, ivory and bees' wax, but derive little benefit from it, owing to the heavy taxation which the Fulatahs impose upon them.

On the evening of the 27th of September, being at anchor in sight of Egga, I despatched Mr. Samuel Crowther, catechist, to announce our arrival to the Chief, and on the 28th the Albert anchored off the town.

Egga is one of the principal towns in the Nufi country, and the largest we had seen since we entered the Niger. The Nufi country has for some years been overrun by the Fulatahs; and the two native kings who were at that time disputing the throne, are entirely subject to the King of Rabba, one of the most powerful Chiefs of the Fulatah tribes, though himself tributary to the Sultan of Socatu. Notwithstanding, however, the entire subjugation of the country, Rogang, a Nufi by birth, is allowed to hold the government of Egga, and we understood the office to be hereditary in his family.

The first report of our appearance had caused considerable alarm, as news had previously arrived of the seizure of the three Yarriba slaves, who had been purchased, as I have already stated, at Egga; but when the nature of the Treaty under which the seizure had taken place was explained to the Governor, he was quite satisfied, and expressed himself desirous that the Slave Trade should also be abolished in the Nufi country.

He said he would be happy to see me, but declined to comply with my request to come on board the Albert, for fear of incurring the displeasure of the Rabbah Chief.

Though, however he expressed the desire he himself had to see the Slave Trade put an end to in his country, and wished a Treaty could be made to that effect, he said he could afford us no assistance in this till something had previously been done in favour of such a measure by the King of Rabba, who, he candidly told us, was not likely, in his opinion, to meet our proposition with favour, adding, that God alone could bring the event to pass. He further informed us, that it would be useless to attempt to make a Treaty with Ezu-Issa (or Edirissa), one of the nominal kings of Nufi, who resided only a few miles higher up the river, as he was altogether powerless and quite dependent on the King of Rabba.

Our further proceedings were now interrupted by the almost universal sickness on board the vessel. We had, since leaving the confluence, lost two seamen; those then on the sick-list, instead of improving in health, had become worse, whilst others had been taken ill; and on our first arrival at Egga, Mr. Lodge, the only engineer able at that time to do duty, was seized with fever.

I still, however, clung to the hope that one of the other engineers might become sufficiently convalescent to work the engines, so as to enable us, by the time we had finished our supply of wood, to proceed up the river.

My hopes were, however, disappointed, for when we had completed our fuel, the engineers were still unable to do any duty; and the only stoker who, failing them, was competent to work the engine, was also disabled from duty by fever.

On the 4th of October, two days after the fuel had been completed, our state had become very deplorable, and all idea of being able to make further progress up the river was with reluctance finally abandoned.

I had myself been seized the day before with fever, although I was unwilling to believe it to be more than a temporary attack. Commander Bird Allen's fever continued unabated; and, excepting Mr. Willie, mate, one convalescent seaman, Dr. McWilliam, Dr. Stanger, and the Rev. Mr. Schön, there were only five others among the white crew (none of them seamen) able to do duty; a number scarcely adequate to wait upon the sick. The river had now fallen 14 inches, and the swampy nature of the banks made it indispensable to move away before the drying up of the lands made the climate more unhealthy. On the 5th October I was too ill myself to go on deck, but I directed Mr. Willie to weigh, and as there was nobody to work the engines, to drop the vessel down the stream.

This zealous young officer had at that time, as I afterwards learnt, been threatened

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for some days with fever; but being the only executive officer besides myself, he would not desist from duty.

Before leaving Egga I took measures, in which Commander Bird Allen, who was well enough at that moment to be consulted, entirely concurred, to have a message sent to the Chief of Rabbah, Samo Sariki (or Hàssaman Zaiki), stating that the Commissioners were at present prevented from paying him a visit by illness, and the falling of the river, but that they hoped to return and see him next year, and that they would then deliver their message from the Queen of England, who had sent them to ask the king to put an end to the exportation of slaves, and to establish commercial relations between Great Britain and his country.

I sent the message through Rogang, with a request to him that he would forward it to Rabbah, together with a valuable silk velvet tobe, a handsomely bound Arabic Bible, and a large print of the vessels of the Expedition, and that he would make known that these were intended as a present to the Chief of Rabba, in token of the friendly feelings of the Queen of England towards him. It was requested that the messenger might also inform him that the English had made a settlement near Adda Kudu, and that he must not allow his warriors to approach or molest the neighbouring towns. Rogang, who undertook to have the message and presents conveyed to Rabbah, expressed himself pleased that we had taken this step, saying that if we had gone away without sending a conciliatory message, Samo Sariki, hearing of our arrival at Egga without receiving any communication from us, would have been doubtful as to whether our intentions towards him were favourable or not; and he might have suspected him, Rogang, of prejudicing our minds against him.

On the 5th of October, while Mr. Willie was dropping the vessel down the river, Mr. Brown, our Negro clerk, was sent on shore to deliver the message and present to Rogang, and rejoined us a few miles below Egga, where we had come to an anchor for the night.

The mode of descending the river by dropping down the stream, though both tedious, and attended with danger, must have been pursued the whole length of the river, had it not been for the spirited conduct of Dr. Stanger, the geologist, who, after the first day, undertook to work the engines. The particulars of our descent from Egga to the mouth of the Nun, and our voyage from thence to Fernando Po, have been so fully detailed in my despatch to the Admiralty of the 25th of October, 1841, already alluded to, that I shall only in this place briefly mention such circumstances as were not then noticed, or are necessary to connect the narrative.

No. 31.
Vide pp. 45—48.

On the 6th October we reached Buddu on the right bank, the chief Kakanda town on the Niger, situated on the confines of the Attàh's territory. Here we found the Attàh's authority distinctly acknowledged, and that he had, according to his agreement, faithfully published the law for the abolition of the Slave Trade.

About this time Mr. Willie was obliged to desist almost entirely from carrying on duty, and soon afterwards altogether. I was too ill to be told of this, and Dr. McWilliam, notwithstanding the very unusual increase of his ordinary duties, took charge of the ship.

During the night of the 7th of October Mr. Wilmett (clerk) jumped overboard in a fit of delirium, but was saved by William Guy, a native of Gambia, and Tom Osmond, Kruman, who gallantly jumped after him into the water, although the night was very dark and the stream running strong. The Humane Society has since awarded silver medals to these negroes for their conduct on the occasion.

On the 9th we had descended as far as the model farm, where we found Mr. Carr, as well as Mr. Kingdon and Mr. Ansell, the only two Europeans who had been left behind, laid up with fever; and as there was no medical man at the farm, it was necessary to take them on board for a passage down the river. Mr. Kingdon was indeed past all hope of recovery at the time of embarkation. The farm establishment, consisting of 21, men, women, and children, (all negroes, whom we had brought from the coast,) were then placed under the charge of Ralph Moore, the American negro emigrant, whom we had taken on board at Liberia. The Amelia was still left for their protection, under the charge of Mr. Thomas King, an intelligent man of colour, with a crew of 12 black men, and provisions sufficient for nine months, and cowries to purchase enough for three months more. The farm people had also a supply of provisions, sufficiently large to last about the same time, with plenty of goods to procure a fresh supply. Mr. King was a liberated African and our Yariba interpreter. Although he was unused to command and responsibility, yet I had great confidence in his steadiness and uprightness, from the character he bore at Sierra Leone.

Having made these and some other necessary arrangements, which, in my un-

fitness for duty, devolved chiefly on Dr. McWilliam, our voyage down the river was resumed on the 10th of October. On the evening of that day we anchored a few miles below Iddah. Early the next morning the Attàh sent to express his regret that we had not anchored in his waters, meaning off the town. The sight of our decks covered with sick must have been quite sufficient to satisfy the messenger of the cause of our haste to get down the river. It was at this time the Attàh sent me a message, stating his satisfaction at my having liberated the slaves. He was about to send a bullock on board, but as we had not time to wait for it I expressed a desire that the present might be transferred to the people at the confluence, and I sent a message to the Attàh, recommending them to his care. I was afterwards pleased to hear that the bullock was, within a fortnight, received on board the Amelia, on which occasion the Attàh's agent informed Mr. King that I had left him and his people under the Attàh's charge.

On the evening of the 12th we reached Abòh, where, notwithstanding our forlorn state, Obi was as friendly as before, both he and his son giving their best assistance in supplying the vessel with fuel. He breakfasted on board, and before leaving the ship paid me a visit in my cabin, to which I was still confined by fever.

When at Abòh, on my way up the river, Obi had expressed a wish that we should allow the interpreter to remain, and teach his people our religion and "all that the white people knew," and appeared so earnest in his request, that though we could not leave him behind at the time, we promised to send him back to Abòh by the first opportunity, and I had accordingly availed myself of the return of the Soudan to fulfil the promise. This man, Simon Jonas, a native of the Abòh country, was now again taken on board, and I was gratified by learning from his account how well he had been treated, and how much disposed the natives were to listen to him.

After as short a stay as possible, we again resumed our downward course, and when about a hundred miles from the sea were happily met by Captain Becroft, in the Ethiope steamer, who, at the request of Commander William Allen, was most kindly proceeding up the river to render us assistance.

As I have already dwelt in my despatches to the Admiralty on the services rendered to me on this occasion by Captain Becroft, I shall here only state that, under his guidance (I being still too unwell myself to do duty), the Albert, on the 16th of October, was taken safely over the bar, and thence on to Fernando Po.

As we were coming out of the river we met the Soudan entering it, in charge of Lieutenant Strange, who was about to proceed up, with a view of joining us if possible. Two assistant surgeons (Mr. Thomson and Mr. Woodhouse) accompanied him, but the latter, since leaving Fernando Po, had been seized with fever.

This vessel I ordered to return with me to Fernando Po, where we arrived, the Albert on the 17th and the Soudan on the following day.

The hand of a merciful Providence was so conspicuously shown in the safe progress of the three vessels down the river, and particularly in the case of the Albert, that I am sure no one who descended the river at that time can look back upon his safety without feelings of gratitude to God for his preservation; and while recording this feeling, I shall only be doing justice to myself and all those who were at that time under my command, if I also here put on record our sense of the liberality of Mr. Jamieson, of Liverpool, who, though much opposed from the beginning to the Expedition, conceiving it would be injurious to British commerce, had, previously to its arrival on the coast, sent orders to his captains to afford us every assistance in their power. Captain Becroft could scarcely otherwise have felt himself justified in complying with Commander William Allen's request to come to our assistance, as he was at that time about to sail in another direction.

The complete state of inefficiency, both of the Albert and Soudan, precluded any attempt to proceed beyond Fernando Po; Lieutenant Strange, Mr. Anderson, second master of the Soudan, and Mr. Cross, third engineer, (the two latter of whom had only joined the Expedition a few days before as volunteers from Her Majesty's steam-vessel Pluto,) being the only executive officers able to do duty. The sick were therefore all landed the day after our arrival at the West African Company's establishment, which afforded, comparatively, good accommodation for them; and everything that could add to their comfort was kindly placed at our disposal by Mr. White, the agent of the Company. Shortly after our arrival, five officers and one man sunk under the influence of the disease: among the former was Commander Bird Allen, whose lamented death I reported at the time. The whole of these, it must be observed, were cases which were so far gone on our first arrival as to afford little hope of their recovery.

We found at Clarence Cove Dr. Vogel and Mr. Roscher. These indefatigable

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gentlemen, of whose zeal on all occasions it would be impossible to speak too highly, had fallen sick at the confluence, and were obliged to descend the river in the Wilberforce, but they had declined going on to Ascension for the re-establishment of their health, in the hope of being able to pursue their scientific researches in Africa. Dr. Vogel lived only to the 17th December following, but his memory will be cherished as long as botany remains a science.

Dr. McWilliam, a few days after we reached the island, was seized with river fever, being the last individual taken ill with the disease. The great exertions of this officer previous to his illness were fully stated by me in my letter to the Admiralty of the 25th of October, 1841; and the fact of his health having been preserved during the whole voyage from Egga to Fernando Po, at a time when his services were quite essential to the sick, was a subject of great thankfulness.

Encl. in No. 31. *Vide* p. 45.

The want of engineers prolonged our stay at Fernando Po for several weeks; but I did not regret the delay, as the climate at this time was considered well calculated to restore the health of those who were now becoming convalescent; and I was, moreover, anxious to wait the arrival of two vessels which were daily expected from England, freighted with fuel and other stores for the Expedition. A respite was also required for those on whom for some time most arduous duties had devolved: I more particularly allude to Lieutenant Strange, who, after bringing down the Wilberforce the greater part of the river almost without assistance, excepting what was zealously afforded by Mr. Commissioner Cook, (Mr. Green, second master, the only other officer, being engaged in working the engines,) subsequently took the Soudan back to the Niger under still more difficult circumstances, and had now to undertake the whole charge of both the Albert and Soudan, involving a variety of duties, which, owing to the sickness of the other officers, fell almost exclusively upon him, and which only his steady zeal and good judgment, combined with a degree of systematic arrangement for which he is very remarkable, could have enabled him to get through. He was the only executive officer who went up the river without getting the fever.

On the 5th of November the Pluto arrived, having left the Wilberforce at St. Thomas's, and brought back Lieutenant Fishbourne and Mr. Bowden, both of whom, having partially recovered, had volunteered to return to the coast with the intention of rejoining the Albert up the river. Of the former of these two officers I had occasion to write fully to the Admiralty, in reference to the energetic manner in which he brought the Soudan down the river. The latter, Mr. Bowden, of whose zeal and assiduity as secretary to the Expedition I cannot speak too highly, had, as I have mentioned before, descended in the Wilberforce; and the early resumption of their duties by these two officers, and their being again prepared, after so recent an experience of the bad effect of the climate, to re-ascend the river, showed a most praiseworthy zeal; but the consequences in both instances of a too early return to their duty was a relapse, and in Mr. Bowden's case, I regret to say, that, after the lapse of 17 months, his health remains in a very shattered condition. They were both, however, in the meantime most useful in their several capacities, in affording relief to Lieutenant Strange.

The accounts which the Pluto brought from the Wilberforce were favourable; her officers and men were rallying, and several had returned to their duty, and it was hoped that in a few days after the Pluto had left her she would be able to proceed to Ascension.

Mr. Carr, the superintendent of the model farm, had by this time recovered from his late attack of fever, and had, in the most spirited manner, resolved, if possible, to return to his post in one of the canoes trading between Brass and Aboh.

As the Pluto was about to sail on a cruize, her commander, Lieutenant (now Commander) W. S. Blount, who had, on various recent occasions, rendered service to the Expedition, kindly offered to give him a passage to the mouth of the Rio Bento, the nearest water access to Brass Town. Mr. Carr, therefore, left Fernando Po, accompanied by his servant, Henry Bulmer, a liberated African; and I sent with him a boat and crew from the Albert, under the orders of Mr. Brown, the negro clerk, giving the latter instructions to take Mr. Carr to Brass Town, and deliver a present to "King Boy," whom he, Mr. Brown, had formerly known, with a request from me that he would have Mr. Carr conveyed safely to Aboh, which I knew Boy had the power of doing if he chose.

I strongly urged Mr. Carr to take few things with him, that the natives might have no temptation to molest him. This recommendation, however, he disregarded, so much so as to make it necessary for Lieutenant Blount, on his arrival off the Bento, to send one of his own boats in addition to the Albert's to carry his luggage over the bar. The two boats went five miles up the river to the creek which was

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supposed to lead to Brass Town. Here they met several canoes, and on Mr. Brown asking the way to Brass Town, he was told that he had no business there, and that "King Boy" had gone up to Abòh. Mr. Brown would still have gone on to Brass Town, but the canoemen, probably supposing him to be on a search for slaves, would not allow the boat to pass, and a scuffling ensued, in which Mr. Brown lost some of his clothes. Some men, however, belonging to a canoe which was going up the river, and which Mr. Brown thought belonged to a place near Abòh, offered a passage to Mr. Carr, who accepted it, and transferred his things to it; but such was the number and bulk of his packages that the canoemen were obliged to throw overboard some of their own goods to make room for them. Mr. Carr was unhappily imprudent enough to trust himself with his servant to their care, and soon after proceeded up the river against Mr. Brown's recommendation. They had not been long gone before Mr. Brown was warned by some natives that Mr. Carr's canoemen were not to be trusted, and he consequently endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to overtake them, after which he returned to Fernando Po.

It is lamentable to reflect that the loss of this gentleman's life, of which little doubt can be now entertained, should have been brought on by his own imprudence, and that he has also, as I conceive, put it out of the power of the British Government to require an account of him at the hands of "King Boy," or any other Chief, as nothing further is known of this canoe than that it was supposed to to be trading in the Brass country, and that the canoemen represented themselves as belonging to a town near Aboh.

No. 30.
Vide p. 44.

In my letter of the 25th October, 1841, to Lord John Russell, I intimated my intention of returning to England to obtain instructions as to the further proceedings of the Expedition, going first to Ascension to ascertain the condition of the officers and men who had gone to that Island; but the state of my health induced my medical attendant, Mr. Thomson, strongly to urge my return home without delay, and I, therefore, took my passage in the Warree, merchant schooner, about to sail direct for Liverpool.

Having made over the temporary charge of the Albert to Acting Commander Fishbourne, whom I had appointed to the Soudan, in Commander Bird Allen's vacancy, I instructed him to house over and lay up the latter vessel, placing her stores either in the warehouses on shore or on board the vessel herself for protection from the weather, and to proceed afterwards in the Albert to Ascension.

As it was desirable that no time should be lost in getting the Warree, (on board of which were several invalids, besides myself,) out of the calms and currents which prevail in the Bights, I arranged that the Albert should tow the schooner as far as St. Thomas's. This, at the same time, afforded an opportunity of trying the strength of the engineers previous to their longer voyage to Ascension, while it afforded the benefit of change of air in the meantime to the Albert's crew, who had nearly all become convalescent.

On the 23rd November, the chief engineer being so far convalescent as to be able to superintend the engines, I left Fernando Po in the Albert; and on the 27th, having reached St. Thomas's, embarked on board the Warree, leaving Commander Fishbourne to return to Fernando Po to fulfil my instructions. I was accompanied to England by Mr. Schön, as well as by Dr. Stanger, who kindly offered his medical services during the voyage. Mr. Merriman, the gunner, was also sent home by this opportunity, as affording the only hope of recovery, and I am happy to say his valuable life has been spared.

Before leaving Fernando Po I wrote to Commander William Allen, to tell him of my departure for England, and to inform him that he might expect instructions for his future guidance to arrive at Ascension from home by the 1st of June, 1842, or at Fernando Po by the first week of the following July. I, at the same time, wrote to him and Mr. Cook, the remaining Commissioners, informing them of my proceedings since parting from them, and assigning my reasons for thinking that the river should not be entered before July. A copy of this Despatch, marked G, is annexed. I sent at the same time the copy of letter from Captain Becroft to me, stating the proper time, in his opinion, for ascending the Niger, a copy of which is also annexed, marked H.

Encl. G.
Vide pp. 118—120.

Encl. H.
Vide p. 120.

As the reports of the surviving surgeons of the Expedition to the Inspector-General will enter fully into the nature of the sickness by which the Expedition was so extensively visited, I shall not attempt to investigate the causes to which it may be ascribed, but briefly lay before your Lordship such facts as I consider to bear upon the subject.

I beg, in the first place, to refer your Lordship to the annexed tables; the first,

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Encl. I, K, L, M. *Vide* p. 121.

marked I, showing the number respectively on board each vessel who suffered from river fever; and the second, marked K, the number who died from its effects: the third, marked L, is an abstract of tables A, I, K; and the fourth, marked M, shows the number of days that each of the vessels was up the river. By these it will appear that the Albert and Soudan each lost far more men in proportion than the Wilberforce.

The first fact to which I shall call your Lordship's attention is, that when the Albert parted with the Wilberforce on the 21st of September she had only six cases of fever, and those all slight cases; while the Wilberforce had 32,* many of whom were in a dangerous state: but the Wilberforce proceeding to the sea lost only six, the rest beginning soon to recover; while the Albert, proceeding up the river, found her sick-list rapidly increase, and lost 11, the recovery of the remainder proving most tedious.

This may either prove that the upper parts of the river are no less pernicious than the lower parts, or else that the seeds of the disease, being imbibed in the lower parts, are less easily thrown off by a continuance up the river than by a return to the sea.

Though the longer stay of the Albert up the river may possibly account for the greater mortality on board that vessel as compared with the Wilberforce, the same cause cannot account for the mortality on board the Soudan, which exceeded that of either of the other steam-vessels, though she remained a shorter time up the river.

As my object is to record any circumstances that may tend to elucidate the cause of sickness in the vessels, and of the different degrees of mortality by which they were affected, I beg to state that the Soudan, on her first arrival inside the bar of the Nun, got aground on the mud at the mouth of a narrow creek, where she lay high and dry the greater part of one night and part of the following day; and that the Wilberforce and Amelia invariably kept in the open stream, whilst the Albert and Soudan more than once, chiefly to avoid the strength of the main stream, took a much narrower channel between islands of considerable length.

I would observe that I never heard any of the medical officers attribute the sickness on board the Soudan to either of these causes, but I think the facts should not be overlooked in endeavouring to draw deductions from our experience.

It is worthy of remark that the Wilberforce, which of the three vessels lost by far the fewest number of men from fever, was the one whose crew was subjected to the hardest work, by reason of her getting on shore at English Island off the town of Iddah, which involved very severe labour; whilst the Soudan, which was a shorter time in the river, and whose men, from circumstances, were less exposed to the sun, and underwent less fatigue than the crews of the other steam-vessels, suffered the most. More deaths, indeed, in proportion, occurred on board the Amelia than in any of the others, as she lost four white persons out of seven, and these perhaps had less even to do than the crew of the Soudan; but the smallness of the numbers on board the Amelia renders her condition less a subject of comparison.

I have mentioned that several of the blacks entered in England had remittent fever after our arrival on the coast. Some of these had afterwards fever in the river, but of a milder character, more resembling intermittent fever; while other blacks entered in England who escaped fever on the coast were attacked very severely by the river fever, without, however, any case proving fatal. These men were, as Table B will show, natives of various countries, but had been all more or less accustomed to a northern climate.

Encl. B. *Vide* pp. 108—112.

Before closing my remarks upon the subject of the climate of the Niger, I may state that a still more striking circumstance than the mortality which attended the Expedition was the extent to which the sickness spread in the short space of a few weeks, only 15 white persons having escaped the river fever out of 146. This circumstance, taken in conjunction with the complete prostration of strength both of body and mind which usually accompanied the fever, and the length of time its effects lasted, offers, in my opinion, a most formidable and almost insuperable impediment to a communication with the upper parts of the river being kept up with white crews, as I shall afterwards have occasion to advert to.

But while the climate seems so pernicious to white constitutions, and in a comparative degree to affect the health of negroes who have been accustomed to the climate of higher latitudes, it is a consolatory circumstance to find that the natives of Africa who were taken from Sierra Leone and Liberia did not suffer in the slightest degree from its effects.

There is no reason to believe that the climate was more unhealthy than usual

* Thirty-three white persons were on the sick list, but only thirty-two had river fever.

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the year the steam-vessels were up the Niger: nor was it considered by the natives to be an unhealthy time of the year—on the contrary, they consider the dry season to be the most unhealthy. The year of our visit was only characterised by the river having risen to a very unusual height. This could only have affected the health of those who were left behind at the model farm after the recently flooded lands began to dry up; but these people all kept their health.

I shall leave it to the surgeons to report upon the effect of the ventilating and medicating apparatus of Dr. Reid, and shall remark only, in reference to the former, that by creating a circulation of air it undoubtedly contributed to the comfort of the crews of the steamers, by enabling them to remain between decks, and especially to sleep there, with less inconvenience; and that by the latter we were able to dry the air between decks several degrees when it was thought desirable. The power of doing this was considered by Dr. McWilliam to be very valuable, and therefore, though the apparatus occupied much room, I had reason to be satisfied with having been furnished with it.

With regard to the height of the thermometer up the river, it was not remarkable. The heat, however, during the day, in some parts of the river beyond the Delta, and more especially between the confluence and Egga, was exceedingly oppressive and debilitating, far more so than I have found it in other climates where the thermometer has ranged much higher. The state of the thermometer and hygrometer is shown in the Meteorological Table accompanying this Report, marked N. It will be seen that the dryness of the air in the day time, in some parts of the river, was very remarkable. It will be observed also, by reference to the Table, that though we frequently had rain, yet there was little or no continued rain. This state of weather is found on the coast to be unfavourable to the health of Europeans, although a continuance of rain is not so. I understand that during the ten months' residence of the settlers at the model farm, heavy rains of any duration, such as occur on the coast, were scarcely ever experienced, and when they did occur it was generally at night. The circumstance is worthy of consideration in attempting to account for the greater degree of unhealthiness of the climate of the Niger for Europeans, in comparison with the neighbouring sea coasts.

Encl. N.
Vide pp. 122—3.

I subjoin a letter in reference to this subject from Captain Midgely (marked O) showing that in the year that the Expedition was up the Niger the rainy season at the mouth of the river did not terminate till the end of September, and that there was no sickness there till the first week in October; whereas the greater part of our sickness had previously taken place.

Encl. O.
Vide p. 123.

Having brought to a close the account of the proceedings of the Commission during its continuance up the Niger, and alluded to the sickness which forced us to suspend our operations, and led eventually to the total abandonment of the enterprise, I may be expected to make some observations on the state of the countries we visited, and to offer an opinion as to the effect which is likely to be produced by our short intercourse with the natives.

By Lord John Russell's instructions I was desired to collect as much information as I could respecting the state of slavery and the Slave Trade up the river, as well as respecting the social and domestic condition of the natives, more particularly with regard to the state of civilization and religion among them.

My duties, not only as Commissioner, but as the person on whom the whole of the naval arrangements devolved, under trying and harassing circumstances, allowed me little leisure during my short stay to make personal inquiries on these subjects, but Mr. Schön, who was able to devote his whole time and attention to inquiries of this nature, and was particularly qualified for the investigation by having some knowledge of the languages and an intimate acquaintance with the African character, informed himself on many points at my suggestion, and also collected as much general information, considering the nature of the climate and the disadvantageous circumstances in which we were placed, as it was possible to do in so limited a period. I do not think, therefore, that I can better supply the information which Her Majesty's Government desired to obtain in regard to the condition of the countries which we visited, than by accompanying this Report by the notes and memoranda of that gentleman, which are accordingly inserted in the Appendix, marked P.

Encl. P.
Vide pp. 124—129.

These notes include all the information which I myself had an opportunity of obtaining, and embrace all the particulars we could learn respecting the state of domestic and prædial slavery in those countries. I would here beg to express my obligations to this gentleman, as well for his valuable ministerial labours, as for his readiness at all times to procure any information which I might require concerning

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the places which we visited : to Mr. Crowther, also, I feel much indebted for his obliging conduct on all occasions.

With regard to the Slave Trade, this traffic, while I was up the river, appeared to be carried on to a very small extent, owing, no doubt, to the little demand for slaves on the coast. I never saw any canoe having on board slaves for sale (that I was aware of) excepting the one belonging to the Chief of Mùye before spoken of; neither did I hear at the time of any having been seen by the other vessels, although I have since been told that the Wilberforce and Soudan met with at least one instance each of canoes having slaves on board, apparently for sale, but probably without there being the means of ascertaining from what place the slaves had been recently brought.

Lieutenant Webb states that Mr. King, during his stay of several months up the river in the Amelia, sometimes saw 50 canoes in one day pass down laden with slaves; but I have no doubt, if Lieutenant Webb had questioned Mr. King on the subject (which he tells me he did not), it would have been found to be only a conjecture on Mr. King's part, for from where the Amelia was at anchor the canoes must have passed at so great a distance as to have made it quite impossible for him to discover whether the persons in the canoes were slaves or not. Mr. King, in his journal kept on board the Amelia, makes mention of slaves passing down the river on one occasion, but only on the authority of two individuals on whose testimony little reliance can be placed.

With regard to the effect produced by our intercourse with the natives, there can be no doubt that the Chiefs, as well as the people, were made quite aware that our motives in visiting them were not those of commercial gain, and were connected with their own rather than our benefit. I conceive, therefore, if through means of this Expedition Her Majesty's Government has shown to the people of Africa the interest that this country takes in putting down the Slave Trade, in discouraging human sacrifices, and in promoting the welfare of the natives, that no inconsiderable advantage will have been gained.

The unexpected arrival in the river of no less than four vessels, two of them much larger than any they had before seen, containing the very goods they would most have desired to purchase, and the circumstance of these goods not being for sale or barter, but meant as presents and tokens of good will, must alone have produced a favourable impression, not likely to be effaced from the memory of the youngest among them. I may here remark that the presents which we distributed amongst them, while the amount (not exceeding 200*l.*) was too small in value to injure in any way European commerce, would no doubt prove conducive to the interests of those who may hereafter trade with these countries, by creating or increasing a desire for European goods, of which few, if any at all, find their way higher up than Abòh.

The future benefit, however, to the natives which may be expected to result from the Expedition must depend upon how far the treaties we entered into are likely to be adhered to, and on the prospect there is of a friendly intercourse being kept up between them and the subjects of civilized countries. I have no doubt that the treaties were entered into by the Chiefs in perfect sincerity, and with a full intention on their part to act up to the engagements they formed; but if it be considered how prone even civilized and professedly Christian states have shown themselves to disregard the obligations of treaties, it would be too much to expect an adherence of those Chiefs to their engagements, in their present rude and uncivilized condition, if left to themselves for any considerable period, and if no other description of trade be substituted for the Slave Trade, which by these treaties they agreed to abandon.

As the nature of the climate is likely to preclude any extensive intercourse with Europeans, unless of a commercial character, it is therefore on the prospect there is of something like a regular commerce being carried on that the fealty of the Chiefs can be counted on, or any permanent advantage looked for as likely to follow the efforts which Her Majesty's Government has made in sending out this Expedition to Africa.

In respect to commerce on the Niger, from the observations which I was enabled to make during my short stay in the river, it would appear to me that as far as Egga, the furthest place which the Expedition reached, the number and value of the articles of barter which would be sought by the British trader are inconsiderable, though doubtless we should have seen more ivory had it not been known that our object was not to trade; but, from the accounts I have heard of the trade of Rabbah from several Europeans who have been there, I should imagine that a remunerating trade might be carried on with the enterprising inhabitants of that place.

The chief articles of commerce to be had at Rabba suited to an European market,

are said to be bullocks' hides, indigo, and ivory : the last mentioned article is now for the most part carried through the Yarriba country to the coast, and could be brought at a much cheaper cost down the river, the land journey being chiefly resorted to on account of the insecurity which now prevails, as well for the person as the properties of those who are engaged in traffic in canoes on the Niger. The occasional visit of an English steamer to the highest point at which the river is navigable, would doubtless tend rapidly to give a greater degree of security, and inspire the natives with confidence in the pursuits of commerce, and in this respect be of great service; and though the navigation between the confluence and Rabba could, there is reason to believe, be carried on by steam-vessels during only about three months in the year, owing to the shallowness of the river, the trade would, under proper encouragement, soon find its way in canoes as low as Iddah, or the confluence, or even to Abòh, if necessary, at those seasons of the year when the state of the river might prevent the steamers proceeding further up to meet them.

The occasional presence in the river, of a British steamer, would, at all events, at first be quite indispensable to carry on the trade I have described; but after my experience of the climate, I entertain little or no hope of European crews being ever fitted for the service. At the same time, the instance of Captain Becroft and of some who accompanied the late Expedition, shows that a small number of white persons, with constitutions proof against the climate, may from time to time be found for the purpose of conducting mercantile enterprises.

An intercourse, however, restricted to European superintendence, must from the difficulties attending it, be very limited in its extent : and it is ultimately in the coloured race that the means of extending it must be sought. This view of the subject seems to point with peculiar force to the necessity of training natives not only to take the conduct of such enterprises, but to fill other situations, which, though subordinate, require a higher degree of education than has usually been given to blacks. The schools in Sierra Leone and in the West Indies present a field from which youths might be selected to be educated as engineers and medical officers. Two intelligent black boys, who served in the late Expedition as engineers' apprentices, and there learned in a short time the practical use of the engine, are now at the naval establishment at Woolwich, to receive further education, and it is very desirable that this number should be increased.

It is indeed to the natives of Africa that we must look not only for keeping up commercial intercourse with the interior of Africa, but for the gradual spread of Christianity and civilization in that country.

The Commissioners, in their letter to Lord John Russell of the 8th September, 1841, stated their opinion that missionaries might be advantageously and safely introduced into the country at Iddah and Aboh, and I may remark that the desire evinced by the natives in the neighbourhood of the model farm to be taught the Christian religion, gives me every reason to believe that when the day happily arrives of missionaries reaching that part of Africa, they will be gladly welcomed by the inhabitants.

No. 26.
Vide p. 37.

The great readiness also which the natives showed to engage themselves as labourers at the model farm is a proof of how willingly they would submit to place themselves not only under European, but even under foreign negro management, and their ultimate docile behaviour during a period when some misconduct was shown towards them by the settlers, and more especially by part of the crew of the Amelia, and the regret which Lieutenant Webb informs me was evinced by many of the natives at their departure—all tend to prove that no impediment is likely to be presented by them to those persons who may enter their country with a view of engaging them in the peaceful pursuits of civilized life.

The conduct of the natives, not only at the model farm, but on all other occasions that came under my notice, is a subject to which I feel much pleasure in adverting, as during the entire period in which the vessels under my command were in the Niger, not only the native Chiefs of the country, but the people in general evinced the most friendly disposition toward us, and this not only during our prosperity whilst going up the river, but also in our forlorn condition coming down. The Wilberforce, indeed, did not receive from Obi on the latter occasion, when in want of fuel, the active assistance which the Albert afterwards in like circumstances received at his hands, but this was owing to the absence of almost the entire grown up male population at a neighbouring market, as was ascertained to be the case by Mr. Green, who was the officer sent on shore to confer with Obi. A difficulty in obtaining wood was also again experienced by the Wilberforce lower down the river from another cause, namely, the misapprehension and fears of the natives, and subsequently their cupidity in trying to obtain too large a price for

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their fuel. Respecting both these circumstances, Mr. Green (the officer who on each occasion had intercourse with them) gave me a particular report. I have made a point of mentioning these two circumstances, as they were the only occasions in which there was any apparent remissness on the part of the natives in their desire to serve us.

It is with satisfaction I remember that during the whole time we were up the river not a single shot was fired, nor a musket discharged, in anger or in intimidation, either by us or by the natives. At many places, especially in the lower part of the Delta, the natives looked upon us on our first approach with fear or suspicion, and were ready with their muskets or their bows and arrows, to repel aggression; but they instantly laid aside their arms on finding our intentions were friendly.

Having noticed the misconduct of some of the settlers at the model farm, I cannot refrain here from briefly reverting to that subject

Reprehensible as their conduct undoubtedly was, it must be borne in mind under what peculiarly trying circumstances they were placed, after Mr. Carr, the intelligent individual to whom the chief management was entrusted, was obliged to leave them. Rules, necessary for the government of the establishment, had scarcely been formed, or were at least not properly understood by those who were to be subjected to their authority, and it unhappily proved that the individual who succeeded Mr. Carr had not sufficient weight or influence to exercise a proper control over them. Under these circumstances it was not to be wondered at, if, after a short period, disorder and confusion arose. It is much, indeed, to be questioned, whether, if the labourers at the model farm had been taken from among the corresponding classes of our own population, and had been subjected to the temptations to which these settlers were exposed, any other consequence would have resulted.

In the course of this Report I have had occasion, as their names occurred, to express my sense of the merits of many individuals, and I have done so, I hope, without the risk, as I certainly have without the intention, of disparaging the services of others. When zeal and devotion to the service were so generally manifested as these qualities were throughout this Expedition, I am obliged to refrain from the expression of my feelings towards many amongst the surviving officers and men, as well as towards the memory of those who died, or I should be under the necessity of extending this Report to an undue length. It must be a source of consolation to those who have lost friends or relations in the Expedition, to know that they were engaged in a service having the welfare of others for its object, and that no expression of regret at the course they had taken, ever escaped from them during their severest sufferings. Their resignation under affliction was no less remarkable, than their active energy in health. As they had all been fully aware beforehand of the risk of the climate, so they all felt satisfied to the last that they were pursuing the path of duty, and had at no time any wish to shrink from it. This last feeling was particularly exemplified at the time the Wilberforce was ordered to the sea, when not a wish was expressed to go down in her by any one who remained behind in the Albert; although several from the state of their health, might well have taken advantage of the opportunity, had they been disposed to do so.

There are two individuals, however, whom I should wish particularly to mention, although they did not originally belong to the Expedition. These are Mr. J. G. Anderson, Second Master, and Mr. J. Cross, engineer, who volunteered from the Pluto to ascend the river in the Soudan, when the latter vessel had, by death or sickness, been deprived of almost all her original white crew, and when the deadly effect of the climate, baffling all our precautions and resources, had been then so recently and fatally proved. Mr. Cross afterwards ascended the Niger with Lieutenant Webb. Mr. Anderson was prevented doing so by a severe attack of fever.

I must also beg to put on record the very great assistance rendered to the Expedition by Lieutenant, (now Commander), Edward Littlehales, the commander of Her Majesty's brigantine Dolphin, who after using every exertion to effect the safe removal of our sick on board his ship from the Soudan in the heavy swell at the mouth of the Nun, treated them on the passage to Ascension with a degree of kindness which can never be forgotten by those who experienced it, or who were interested in their recovery. To the officers generally of the Dolphin, I feel also much indebted, especially to Mr. Loney, the Assistant Surgeon, whose care of the sick was represented to me as being beyond all praise.

I should have been induced to allude to the zealous conduct of Lieutenant Webb, who, after suffering more severely than almost any other individual of the Expedition, from fever contracted during his first ascent of the Niger, volunteered to ascend the river again in command of the Wilberforce, in July, 1842, were I not aware that his services are well known to your Lordship, and that his merit, as well as that of those under his command, has been strongly pointed out to the

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Board of Admiralty by Captain William Allen, under whose immediate orders he performed the service. The recent offer made by Lieutenant Webb to return once more to the Niger, to look after Mr. Carr, if the Admiralty thought such a step necessary, is deserving of high commendation.

The Board of Admiralty has liberally bestowed promotion on a very large proportion of the surviving officers, but there are two gentlemen to whose merit, as they do not belong to the naval service, and are not therefore eligible for naval rewards, I am anxious to draw your Lordship's attention, and to recommend them strongly to your favourable consideration: I allude to Mr. James E. Terry, chief clerk, and Mr. Richard Mouat, extra clerk to the Commissioners. Mr. Terry not only performed with diligence his particular duty, as clerk, but strove to render himself useful in every possible way, and in particular by affording assistance in the survey of the river, and aiding Commander William Allen in taking magnetical and other observations, an assistance which he rendered with an assiduity that did him the greatest credit. Mr. Mouat, besides being a clerk of the Albert, was an extra clerk to the Commissioners, and remained in the Albert when the secretary and other clerks were forced by illness to leave the river, and independently of my satisfaction at the manner in which he fulfilled his duties in this respect, I had occasion to make particular mention of him in my letter to the Admiralty of the 25th October, 1841, as having, though ill himself, materially aided Dr. McWilliam in his care of the sick, a duty he was enabled to perform from a previous knowledge of medicine, and in the fulfilment of which he was most indefatigable.

Encl. in No. 31. *Vide* p. 45.

Having, at the commencement of this Report, particularly described the construction of the vessels, it is only due to Mr. Laird, the builder, to state that they were found to be well adapted to the navigation of the Niger, although, from circumstances, we were prevented from lightening them to the extent we had intended for the general service up the river. The model farm implements added in some degree to the draught of the Albert and Wilberforce, although they proved more inconvenient by encumbering our decks than by their weight.

Could we possibly have anticipated remaining so short a time in the river, and consequently requiring as much fewer provisions and stores, greater weight might have been allotted to the engines and the steam power might have been advantageously increased.

With regard to the Nun branch of the Niger, taken by the late Expedition, it must still be considered the best entrance till further information be gained with respect to the Warree branch, by which Captain Becroft ascended in the Ethiope, in 1840. Should it, however, prove that the Warree branch falls into the sea (as Captain Becroft supposes) at the mouths of the rivers Forcados and Escardos, it will probably be found the shortest route to Abòh, and be taken by all vessels from the Bight of Benin and the westward. But the Nun branch, though it may involve a longer stay in the Delta, will even then in all probability be preferred by vessels from Fernando Po, and places to the eastward of Cape Formosa. I may here remark, that higher up than the Warree branch, we found no other running to the sea, excepting a small one just above the town of Abòh, which was said to lead to Bonny. The mouth of this branch was nearly dry when the Wilberforce passed it in the beginning of July, 1842. I would also observe that from the sea to the Egga we found no river ruuning into the Niger excepting the Chadda.

The late experience of Lieutenant Webb, in the Wilberforce, confirms me in the opinion that the beginning of July is the earliest time for ascending the Niger in vessels drawing more than three feet water, but I think it possible that vessels of a less draught might find water enough at the lowest season of the river to ascend as far as the confluence of the Niger and Chadda.

Before concluding this Report I cannot omit the opportunity of acknowledging the hearty co-operation which I received at all times from Captain William Allen and Mr. Cook; and I am sure they will cordially join with me in bearing testimony to the important aid which we received from our late colleague, Commander Bird Allen, whose uprightness of mind, excellent judgment, and remarkable energy and decision of character, combined with his cheerful and conciliatory disposition, rendered him a most valuable member of the Commission.

Captain Allen will inform your Lordship of the proceedings of the Commission subsequent to the period of my departure from the coast of Africa for England, and it only now remains for me to hope that my conduct, while in the command of the Expedition, may have merited your Lordship's approbation.

I have, &c.,

The Right Hon. Lord Stanley,
&c. &c. &c.

H. D. TROTTER,
Captain, R. N.

Captain Trotter's Report.

Encl. A in No. 52.

Enclosure in No. 52.

(A.)

STATEMENT of the Number of Officers and Crews of the Vessels comprising the Niger Expedition, when they commenced their Ascent of the Niger, August 20th, 1841.

	Albert.	Wilberforce	Soudan.	Amelia.	Total.
Europeans :—					
Officers	14	10	9	3	36
Civilians	1	8	..	..	9
Engineers	3	3	2	.	8
Stokers	4	3	4	..	11
Remainder of Crew	29	33	15	4	81
Coloured :—					
Civilian (West Indian)	..	1	..	..	1
Men entered in England	14	7	3	..	24
Men entered in Africa	44	37	18	9	108
	109	102	51	16	278*

H. D. TROTTER, Captain.

* This number includes the interpreters, but not the men, women, and children, belonging to the Model Farm, 21 of whom were in the "Amelia," and 2 in the "Wilberforce."

(B.)

HER MAJESTY'S STEAM-VESSEL ALBERT.

Encl. B in No. 52. LIST of EUROPEAN OFFICERS and CREW, and of COLOURED MEN entered in England, belonging to Her Majesty's Steam-Vessel "Albert" when she commenced her ascent of the Niger, August 20, 1841.

Officers.

Name.	Rank.
H. D. Trotter	Captain.
E. G. Fishbourne	Lieutenant.
*D. H. Stenhouse	Lieutenant and Assistant Surveyor; died 28th October, 1841, at Fernando Po.
*Geo. B. Harvey	Master; died 2nd October, 1841, on board the "Wilberforce" at Fernando Po.
†*Theodore Müller*	Chaplain, (Chaplain to the Commissioners, and Arabic Interpreter).
J. O. McWilliam, M.D.	Surgeon, (Surgeon to the Commissioners).
*James Woodhouse	Assistant Surgeon; died 30th of October, 1841, at Fernando Po.
*F. D. Nightingale	Assistant Surgeon (in Amelia); died 17th of September, 1841, on board the "Albert," at the confluence.
William Bowden	Purser, (Secretary to the Commissioners.)
*William C. Willie	Mate; died 18th of October, 1841, at Fernando Po.
James W. Fairholme	Mate (in Amelia).
R. T. Saunders	Second Master.
W. R. Bush	Clerk.
*W. H. Willmett	Clerk; died 5th of November, 1841, at Fernando Po.
Richard Mouat	Assistant Clerk, (extra Clerk to the Commissioners).
William Merriman	Gunner.
John Langley	Engineer, 1st class.
*Albion Lodge	Engineer, 2nd class; drowned 8th of October, 1841, in the river Niger, when labouring under river fever.
James Brown	Engineer, 2nd class.

Civilian.

†*William Stanger*, M.D.	Geologist and Explorer.

Ship's Company.

(Europeans.)

*John Fuge	Captain of the Forecastle (in Amelia); died 29th of September, 1841, in river Niger.
*William M'Millan	Quarter-Master; died 27th September, 1841, on board Her Majesty's Brigantine "Dolphin," on passage to Ascension.
Robert Thomas	Stoker.
Henry Davey	Carpenter's Mate.
§John M'Clintock	Stoker; died 21st November, 1841, at Fernando Po.
Thomas Ashcroft	Quarter-Master.
James Haughton	Gunner's Mate, (in Amelia).

* Died from river fever or its effects. † Escaped the river fever. § Death from casualty.

*John Peglar	Armourer and Stoker; died 6th September, 1841, in River Niger.	Encl. B. in Captain Trotter's Report.
*Ellis Jones	Quarter Master; died 26th September, 1841, on board Her Majesty's Brigantine "Dolphin," on passage to Ascension.	
Edward Capps	Captain's Steward.	
John Duncan	Master-at-Arms.	
†*John Huxley*	Sick Berth Attendant.	
*John Burgess	Quarter-Master; died 14th September, 1841, in the river Niger.	
Thomas Ward	Gun Room Steward.	
Charles Loader	Caulker.	
*Lewis Wolfe	Yeoman of Signals; died 27th September, 1841, on board "Soudan," at Fernando Po.	
*Robert Millward	Purser's Steward; died 22d October, 1841, at Fernando Po.	
†*Richard Lamb*	Gentlemen's Steward.	
*James Robertson	Stoker; died 17th September, 1841, at the confluence.	
William Vine	Blacksmith.	
James May	Boatswain's Mate.	
†*Archibald Yair*	Sick Berth Attendant.	
James Worwood	Able Seaman.	
*George Powell	Cooper; died 11th September, 1841, in river Niger.	
*George Symes	Captain of Forecastle; died 2d October, 1841, in river Niger	

Marines.

†*Charles Hodges*	Sergeant.	
*John Waller	Corporal (in Amelia); died 26th September, 1841, on board Her Majesty's Brigantine "Dolphin," on passage to Ascension.	
*Henry Gibson	Private; died April, 1842, in Ascension Hospital.	
*George Cole	Private; died 17th October, 1841, near Fernando Po.	
James Barrett	Drummer.	
‡*Morgan Kinson*	Private; died 6th November, 1841, at Fernando Po.	
Benjamin Saunders	Private.	
John Syms	Private.	

Sappers and Miners.

Tobias Edmonds	Corporal, (Lance Serjeant.)	
James Craig	Private, (Lance Corporal.)	
Daniel Carlton	Private.	
*William Moffat	Private; (in Amelia,) died 26th September, 1841, on board Her Majesty's Brigantine "Dolphin," on passage to Ascension.	

Coloured Men entered in England.

Place born.	Name.	Rating.
Guinea	William Oakley	Captain's Cook.
Calcutta	Emanuel Mandulee	Gun-Room Servant.
West Indies	†*John Williams*	Captain's Servant.
Bombay	William Underwood	Gun-Room Servant.
Halifax	Richard Wilson	Engineer's Servant.
Gambia	†*William Guy*	Able Seaman.
Kroo Country	†*Jack Be-Off*	Ordinary Seaman.
Gambia	†*Richard Harry*	Boy.
Sierra Leone	†*Andrew Williams*	Able Seaman.
Jamaica	Edward Henderson	Sick Berth Cook.
Antigua	†*John Robertson*	Stoker.
	†*Thomas Johnson*	Ordinary Seaman.
Eboe	†*James Graft*	Stoker.
Sierra Leone	†*James Carroll*	Stoker.

N.B.—The "Albert" lost after leaving England, Samuel Johnson, Captain of the Forecastle, and John William Bach, mathematical instrument maker; the former was killed at sea by falling from the fore-yard on the 3d July, 1841; the latter died of fever (not of an endemical kind) at the mouth of the river Nun, on the 15th of August, 1841.

H. D. Trotter, Captain.

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* Died from fever or its effects. † Escaped the river fever.
‡ Escaped the river fever, but died from the effects of climate on an impaired constitution.

RIVER NIGER.

Encl. B. in Captain Trotter's Report.

HER MAJESTY'S STEAM-VESSEL WILBERFORCE.

LIST of EUROPEAN OFFICERS and CREW, and of COLOURED MEN entered in England, belonging to Her Majesty's Steam-Vessel "Wilberforce" when she commenced her ascent of the Niger, August 20th, 1841.

Officers.

William Allen . . .	Commander.
†*James N. Strange* . .	Lieutenant.
Henry C. Harston . .	Lieutenant (in Amelia.)
William Forster. . .	Master.
†*Morris Pritchett*, M.D.	Surgeon.
†*J. R. H. Thomson* . .	Assistant Surgeon.
†*John Stirling* . . .	Assistant Surgeon.
*Cyrus Wakeham . .	Purser; died 27th September, 1841, river Nun.
Henry C. Toby. . .	Mate.
W. H. T. Green . .	Second Master and Assistant Surveyor.
J. H. R. Webb . . .	Clerk.
William Johnston . .	Engineer, 1st class.
Joseph Graystock . .	Engineer, 2d class.
George Garritte. . .	Engineer, 3rd class.

Civilians.

†*William Cook* . . .	Commissioner.
J. E. Terry	Chief Clerk to Commissioners.
William Simpson . .	Clerk to Commissioners.
†*Rev. J. F. Schön* . .	Missionary, of the Church Missionary Society of England.
*Dr. F. R. Vogel . .	Botanist; died 17 December, 1841, Fernando Po.
C. G. Roscher . . .	Miner and Geologist.
Lewis Frazer . . .	Naturalist.
Alfred Carr	Superintendent of model farm, (a West Indian of colour.)
John Ansell	Collector of Plants.

Ship's Company.

(Europeans).

Henry Collins . . .	Blacksmith.
*Peter Fitzgerald . .	Stoker; died 2d October, 1841, Fernando Po.
Johu Bailey. . . .	Cooper.
John Wilson . . .	Captain's Cook.
Richard Smythers . .	Gun-room Steward.
Henry Hillier . . .	Carpenter's Mate.
†*David Douglass* . .	Gentlemen's Steward.
F. J. Gurney . . .	Gunner's Mate.
James M'Cluskey . .	Stoker.
†*Michael Walsh* . . .	Carpenter's Crew.
John Waddington . .	Quarter-Master.
James Carr	Stoker.
George Crofts . . .	Quarter-Master.
Absolam Delavante. .	Arabic Interpreter.
William Funge . . .	Able Seaman.
Joseph Hopkins . .	Sail Maker.
Edwin Hoskin . . .	Purser's Steward.
George Boys . . .	Captain of the Fore Top.
William Ward . . .	Captain of the Forecastle.
*James Kneebone . .	Ordinary Seaman; died 11th September, 1841, river Niger.
*William Allford. . .	Ordinary Seaman; died 31st October, 1841.
Richard James . . .	Ordinary Seaman.
William Lucas . . .	Boatswain's Mate.

Marines.

*George Cuthbertson .	Serjeant; died 11th October, 1841, on board, off Prince's Island.
William Jones . . .	Private.
Daniel Bloomfield . .	Private.
John Bealey, alias Veley	Private.
William Ford . . .	Private.
John Osborne . . .	Corporal.
Samuel Hill. . . .	Private.
Thomas Roberts . .	Private.
William Day . . .	Private.

Sappers and Miners.

William Martin. . .	Second Corporal. (Lance Serjeant.)
James Cotter . . .	Private.

* Died from river fever or its effects. † Escaped the river fever.

*William Rabling	. .	Private; died 14th December, 1841, at the confluence.
Henry Rosemergy	. .	Private.

Coloured Men entered in England.

Place Born.	Name.	Rating.
Barbadoes . .	†*John Garner*	Captain's Steward.
St. John's America	‡*James Case*	Able Seaman.
Gambia . . .	‡*John Dennis*	Able Seaman.
Jamaica . . .	†*William Scott* . . .	Ship's Cook.
Haussa	†*James Peters*	Ordinary Seaman.
Jamaica . . .	‡*William Jackson* . . .	Engineer's Servant.
Cape Coast . .	†*Lewis Asasa*	Ordinary Seaman.

N.B. The "Wilberforce" lost, after leaving England, John Morley, carpenter's mate, and Henry Halbert, able seaman, (a coloured man;) the former was drowned at St. Vincent, Cape de Verde Islands, on the 10th of June, 1841; the latter died on the Coast of fever on the 23rd of July, 1841. Another coloured man, David Wright, seaman, died of apoplexy on the 22nd July, 1841.

H. D. Trotter, Captain.

Her Majesty's Steam-Vessel Soudan.

List of European Officers and Crew, and of Coloured Men entered in England, who were on board Her Majesty's Steam-Vessel "Soudan" when she commenced her ascent of the Niger on the 20th August, 1841.

Officers.

*Bird Allen	Commander; died 25th October, 1841, Fernando Po.
William Ellis . . .	Lieutenant.
John Belam. . . .	Master.
*W. B. Marshall . .	Surgeon; died 21st September, 1841, river Nun.
*H. C. Collman . . .	Assistant Surgeon; died 6th October, 1841, Fernando Po.
W. H. Webb . . .	Mate.
F. W. Sidney . . .	Mate and Assistant Surveyor.
*Nicolas Waters . . .	Clerk in charge of provisions; died 22nd September, 1841, river Niger.
*William Kingdon . .	Assistant Clerk and Schoolmaster; died 13th of October, 1841, river Niger.
G. V. Gustaffson . .	Engineer, 1st class.
William Johnson . .	Engineer, 2nd class.

Ship's Company.

(Europeans.)

*Christopher Bigley . .	Stoker; died 2nd October, 1841, Fernando Po.
John Perram . . .	Stoker.
William Strain . . .	Gentlemen's Steward.
*John Kirrens . . .	Stoker; died 27th September, 1841, Her Majesty's Brigantine "Dolphin," on passage to Ascension.
*John Whittaker . .	Quarter-Master.
*Charles Levinge . .	Captain's Steward; died 9th September, 1841, river Niger.
John Davis	Captain's Coxswain.
*William M'Lackland .	Sailmaker; died 24th November, 1841, in "Warree," on passage to England.
Cornelius Trower . .	Stoker.
*John Young . . .	Quarter-Master; died 27th September, 1841, Her Majesty's Brigantine "Dolphin," on passage to Ascension.
*James Thomas . . .	Carpenter's crew; died 21st September, 1841, river Niger.
John Straman . . .	Able Seaman.
John Wood	Gunner's Mate.
Henry Dennis . . .	Boatswain's Mate.
*James Hill	Gun-room Steward; died 25th September, 1841, Her Majesty's Brigantine "Dolphin," on passage to Ascension.

Marines.

Hugh Isaacs . . .	Corporal.
Richard Pitham . .	Gunner, Royal Marine Artillery.
John Hibberd . . .	Private.
Philip Tyack . . .	Private.

Coloured Men entered in England.

Place Born.	Name.	Rating.
Dominique, West Indies	John Gray	Sick Berth Attendant.
Tortola, West Indies .	Michael King . . .	Purser's Steward.
Gambia, Africa . .	†*George Lee* . . .	Able Seaman.
St. Thomas, Africa .	§*James Vaux* . . .	Ditto.

* Died from river fever or its effects. † Escaped the river fever.

‡ The fever with which these men were attacked in the river assumed the character of intermittent: they had previously had remittent fever on the coast before entering the river.

§ Had remittent fever in the river, but not of the same kind which attacked the Europeans.

RIVER NIGER.

N.B. The "Soudan" lost, after leaving England, Richard Edwards, Purser's Steward (a coloured man), who was drowned at sea on the 20th of May, 1841.

H. D. TROTTER, Captain.

(C.)

Encl. C. in Captain Trotter's Report.

(Copy.)——By HENRY DUNDAS TROTTER, Esq., Captain of Her Majesty's Steam-Vessel Albert, and Senior Officer in command of an Expedition to the Niger.

GENERAL ORDER.

YOU are hereby required and directed to take the following General Orders for your information and guidance, and communicate the same to the respective officers and men under your command, as far as it may concern them.

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER, Captain.

Her Majesty's Steam Vessel Albert,
St. Vincent, Cape de Verde Islands, 16th June, 1841.

To the Commanders of the Vessels of the Niger Expedition.

I.—1. In issuing General Orders to the commanders of the vessels under my command, I would wish them to impress upon their respective officers and crews, that the mission on which our Most Gracious Queen has been pleased to send us for the benefit and happiness of the African race, is distinguished from all former Expeditions, by the disinterested and beneficent objects it has in view. It may, indeed, be said to have attracted the attention of the whole civilized world, and perhaps, it is not too much to add, that no Expedition ever left the shore of Britain with the good wishes and prayers of so large a portion of our countrymen. It is, therefore, incumbent on all of us to consider the responsible nature of the duties before us, and how much the force of good example may effect towards the accomplishment of the ends proposed, by exhibiting to the African the Christian in character, as well as in name, and proving by our actions the sincerity of our desire for their welfare and happiness.

2. In the preparations made for this great enterprise, every thing which could be thought of as likely to contribute to the health and comforts of the officers and men has been most liberally provided; it therefore more especially behoves us to use our best abilities and utmost endeavours zealously to discharge our respective duties, humbly relying upon Him who ruleth all things, and remembering that success will mainly depend under the blessing of Almighty God, on the cheerful and cordial co-operation of every individual attached to the Expedition.

3. In our intercourse with savages, or half civilized people, an unusual degree of forbearance will often be called for, and a kind, courteous, but at the same time, firm line of conduct will tend materially to remove suspicion or alarm, and create confidence.

4. We should always keep in view, that our object is the good of our fellow-creatures, and not our own, constantly remembering the golden rule, "to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us." And it is only in proportion as we retain this sentiment, and endeavour to make it the ruling principle of our actions, that we may expect a blessing to attend our efforts in the cause of Africa.

II.—1. In the event of your meeting with any of Her Majesty's ships or vessels of the African station, it is my direction that you carefully abstain from any interference whatever with them.

2. Should you require any assistance, you are to apply in my absence to the senior officer on the station, who is directed by the Admiralty to give it, provided that it can be done without interfering with the duties on which the vessels on the station are employed, or without inconvenience to Her Majesty's service.

III.—One of the most important parts of naval discipline, is that which has a reference to the health of the crew, more especially when employed on the West African Station, and the immediate attention of the commanders is particularly directed to such of the following regulations as relate to that subject, in drawing up which, I have had the able assistance of Dr. McWilliam, the senior surgeon of the Expedition.

IV.—1. The Admiralty having spared no expense in providing the vessels of the Expedition with an expensive ventilating apparatus, it becomes the duty of all to make themselves acquainted with the system, as fully explained in Dr. Reid's paper, and to use their utmost endeavours to carry the plan fully into operation, in order to make it as extensively useful as possible for the health and comfort of the crews.

2. The principal arrangement is to be placed under the charge of the surgeon of each vessel, who is to follow the rules and suggestions contained in Dr. Reid's valuable paper, and is to apply to the commander, to appoint a competent individual to instruct under his directions a sufficient number of persons for the management of the various valves and slides of the ventilating tubes. These should be numbered to insure an effective and easy adjustment. Odd numbers on the starboard, and even numbers on the port side, beginning from aft, is the plan adopted in the Albert. The persons having charge of the different sections of the vessel should be fully instructed to report any apparent increase or diminution in the ventilation of the compartments under their charge.

3. The ventilation should be practised frequently, even when its beneficial effect is not required, and as many persons as possible should be encouraged to learn the principle upon which it acts, by putting into operation the various movements.

4. The powers of the fanners ought to be tested.

1st. In producing a circulation of air introduced into the vessel, directly from the external atmosphere.

2nd. In propelling the heated air of the engine-room into the hold and various compartments, as first practised in the Wilberforce.
3rd. As connected with the medicator or purificator.
4th. In connection with the tubular heating apparatus attached to the purificator, or simply connected with the external tube leading to the fanner.

V.—The commanders are to direct the surgeons to send reports to them in writing from time to time, showing the results of the trials of the ventilation, and these reports are to be carefully preserved.

VI.—1. Dr. Reid's General Rule, No. 2, is not only to be strictly attended to every day, but one hold is also to be examined daily by the surgeon, (excepting on Sunday) and the state of the air reported to the commander, in order that every compartment may come under particular inspection during the week.

2. The hold of any compartment, suspected of being unwholesome, is as soon as possible afterwards to be completely cleared out, and thoroughly dried and ventilated, and its state afterwards noted in the log-book, when the names of any articles are to be mentioned, which may be considered to have caused the unwholesomeness.

3. The surgeon is also to draw up a particular report upon such occasions, a copy of which report is to be forwarded to me.

VII.—1. To avoid as much as possible any unnecessary exposure to the night air, the white crew are all to sleep below, when on the coast or up the river, and are on no account to be permitted to lie about the upper deck.

2. The Kroomen alone are to sleep on deck, to whom every facility should be given to protect them from the rain. It might be advisable when practicable, to fit up a canoe or boat, moored alongside, or astern of the ship for the accommodation of the Kroomen, when the vessels are at anchor, and much crowded on deck.

3. As few white men as the performance of the duty will admit of are to remain on deck during the night, particularly when rain or much dew is falling.

Those who are obliged to be on deck on duty, will be supplied when in unhealthy localities with respirators, and a fire is then to be kept all night in the cook-house for their benefit.

VIII.—As the hottest hours of the day are comprehended between eleven and three o'clock, the white men should be exposed to the sun as little as possible during that period.

IX.—1. Exposure on shore in Africa to the morning and evening dews, and the night air having proved even more prejudicial to health than the intense action of the sun's rays, no white person belonging to the Expedition, after arrival on the coast, is to be on shore between sunset and an hour after sunrise, unless with my permission, or that of the senior officer present, who is not to grant it, unless when duties are unattainable at other times, and care must be taken by the respective commanding officers, that the unavoidable exposure of white men on shore at night be reduced to the least possible amount.

2. The above precautions are considered necessary on the coast generally, but more especially in the Delta of the Niger, where the exciting causes of disease are to be regarded as acting with increased energy, and all possible means are to be used for obviating their injurious effects.

It is to be hoped that the climate above the Delta will be found to be such as will admit of this restriction being modified.

X.—Boats or canoes going alongside their own or other vessels, are to be directed to take the shady side, in order to avoid, as much as possible, the exposure of the boats and crews to the rays of the sun.

XI.—*Dress.*—The commanders may give permission to the officers of the ships under their command to wear uniform jackets, and white hats or caps on shore or on board.

XII.—*Dress.*—1. Duck frocks and trowsers are to be worn by the white men during the day in fine weather, with flannel next to the skin. Each man must also be provided with two broad flannel waist belts, so that he may be enabled to have a dry one continually round his body.

2. The men's hats are to be of white straw, with a padding, or defence of some sort under the crown, to prevent the injurious action of the sun's rays upon the head. The white men are not allowed to go aloft without the officer of the watch seeing that they have attended to this necessary regulation.

XIII.—The crews are to be mustered before sunset, when the white men are to be clothed in their blanket dresses for the night, in addition to flannel clothing underneath.

XIV.—In case of any of the men getting wet, the officer under whom they have been employed is particularly charged to muster and report them in dry clothing, before they are allowed to go below, If the weather is not suitable for the clothes being hung in the rigging, a place on deck must be pointed out where they may be deposited.

XV.—As all surfaces giving out moisture by evaporation are injurious to health, open vessels of water, wet clothing, officers' towels, &c., should never be allowed to remain below, nor the crew permitted to wash themselves on the lower deck.

XVI.—While the steam vessels of the Expedition are at an anchor on the Coast of Africa, and in the Niger, and more especially in the Delta and other unhealthy places, a cup of warm coffee is to be given in the morning to each European, whenever the surgeon thinks it advisable, and also to such of the black men as the surgeon may think require it; to make which, one-third of an ounce of coffee, and one-third of an ounce of sugar are to be issued as an extra allowance.

RIVER NIGER.

Encl. C. in Captain Trotter's Report.

XVII.—As it is most desirable to encourage temperate habits on board the steam-vessels of the Expedition, more especially with a view to the preservation of health; it is my direction that such individuals as do not take up spirits be supplied daily with the established allowance of lemon juice and sugar, except when their allowance of grog shall be stopped for punishment.

XVIII.—The Kroomen are allowed only two-thirds proportion of spirits, which is always to be mixed with at least three waters, but as an encouragement to them also, not to take up their allowance, they are to be paid for any such savings, at the rate of six shillings per gallon; thus making their savings at two-thirds allowance of all spirits, calculated at this rate, equal to full allowance, at four shillings per gallon. This order is not to apply to savings payable to the sick mess.

XIX.—It is my direction that the issues of the following species of provisions on salt meat days be regulated from the time of arrival on the Coast of Africa by the following scale, observing that cranberries and pickled cabbage (which are to be considered as an extra allowance) are to be issued only in proportion to the salt meat actually taken up, and that the pickles are not to be served with pork unless when salt meat shall have been issued the day before

Days.	Salt Beef.	Salt Pork.	Flour, &c.	Peas.	Pickled Cabbage.	Cranberries.	Sugar for Cranberries.	Mornings.	
								Coffee.	Sugar.
	lb.	lb.	lb.	pints.	oz.	ozs.	oz.	oz.	oz.
1 Salt Meat Day . .	¾	..	¾	..	1	2	¾	⅓	⅓
2 ,, . .	..	¾	..	½	1	..	..	⅓	⅓
3 ,, . .	..	¾	¾	..	1	2	¾	⅓	⅓
4 ,, . .	..	¾	..	½	1	..	..	⅓	⅓
5 ,, . .	¾	..	¾	..	1	2	¾	⅓	⅓

XX.—Preserved meats are to be issued to the company of Her Majesty's steam-vessels of the Niger Expedition on Sundays and Thursdays whenever the crews shall have been two days previously on salt meat, or if more palatable to the crew, it may be divided into halves, and served in four days of the week, mixed with salt meat, without interfering with the scale in the last order regulating the issues of pickles and cranberries.

XXI.—Wine and quinine may be given to the men occasionally in lieu of wine and bark, and its issue may be extended to the whole crew when thought desirable by the surgeon.

XXII.—Unless absolutely necessary the hammocks are not to be piped up in Africa until sunrise, which in the Niger is always about 6 o'clock, and when recommended by the surgeon a cup of coffee is to be given to every man before going on deck. The hammocks are to be left unlashed for a quarter of an hour, and then lashed up and taken on deck, and the duties of the ship proceeded with.

XXIII.—As ill consequences often arise from persons taking large draughts of cold water when thirsty, a small measure is always to be kept at the filterer or tank, and used by the ship's company, and no other is to be used by the men for this purpose.

XXIV.—The water of the Niger having been proved to contain much animal and vegetable matter ought not to be used for drinking until boiled, and a little lime added to it to purify it.

XXV.—As it is extremely desirable to ascertain what constitutions seem best adapted to the climate of Africa the surgeons of the respective ships are to be desired, as a measure preparatory to future observations, to note, according to the annexed form, the previous history, age, temperament, &c., of each individual on board.

Names.	Ages.	In what Country born and educated.	Trade or Occupation.	How long at Sea.		How long Abroad, and in what Climates.	What Disease he has already suffered from.	If any Disease in the Family to which he belongs.	Vaccinated.	Re-vaccinated.	Married or Unmarried.	Temperament.	General Appearance.	Height.
				In Merchant Ships.	In Men of War.									
														Ft. in.

XXVI.—1. The General Orders, of which this is No. XXVI., being standing orders and regulations for the guidance of the officers and crews of the vessels of the Niger Expedition, to be communicated to them by their respective commanders or commanding officers, are to be kept separate from general memoranda and other orders, which though they may be for the direction and information of the vessels generally, are only of a temporary nature. If one book only is kept it must contain *General Orders* at one end, and *General Memoranda, &c.*, at the other, a new book being commenced when the two sets of orders meet.

RIVER NIGER.

Encl. C. in Captain Trotter's Report.

2. No. 900 in the General Signal Book is to be marked in pencil as follows: "Second Master, Clerk, or Clerk's Assistant, with the Order Book to copy orders," and, when obeyed, the officer is to sign his name and rank as having copied the order correctly.

3. My clerk will occasionally be ordered to see that the general orders have been correctly copied, and, when satisfied of their correctness, to sign his name at the end of the last order.

XXVII.—1. It is to be understood that all presents received from the African Chiefs, Headmen, or others of the country, for which some equivalent has or will be given in Government goods or money shall be considered for the use of Her Majesty.

Presents consisting of oxen, sheep, goats, poultry, vegetables, fruit, or other articles of provisions received are to be taken on charge and accounted for by the pursers and clerk-in-charge of the respective ships of the Expedition.

XXVIII.—Cowries having been supplied to the steam-vessels chiefly for the purchasing of provisions and stores and other contingencies on account of the Niger Expedition, it is my direction that they be reserved expressly for that purpose, and on no account be applied for the payment of savings of provisions or monthly allowance without my permission in writing.

XXIX.—Mr. C. Wakeham, purser of the Wilberforce, having at my request ascertained the average weight and measure of a certain number of cowries, and the sterling value thereof in regard to their cost to Government, and it appearing by his report, after a careful and tedious inquiry, that about 400 cowries weigh about one pound avoirdupois, and that an imperial pint measure will contain on an average about 500 cowries when compact and the top levelled, and that the cost to Government of 500 in relation to the whole supply taken on charge by the pursers of the Expedition has been as nearly as can be calculated about $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ sterling, it is my direction that cowries be issued and received at the rate of 500 for $7\frac{1}{2}d.$, or 100 for $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ sterling, and that when the imperial measure is used in payment, one pint to be considered equal to 500 cowries, and also that in cases when the parties may agree to be paid in cowries according to weight that 400 be given and received as equal to a pound avoirdupois.

And as much valuable time which would be occupied in the counting of cowries might be saved by the use of the pint measure, the commanders of the vessels of the Expedition are to encourage the natives to adopt the plan, and to cause a number of pint measures to be made forthwith from the empty preserved meat cases, and to give them occasionally as presents until a desire be expressed for them in barter.

In order to save the preserved carrots and other vegetables as much as possible, it is my direction that whenever fruit or vegetables are on board or can be procured at a moderate price for the ships' companies they be served on preserved meat days with the preserved meats.

And as the total quantity of bread in the vessels of the Niger Expedition is not in proportion to the other species of provisions, it is my direction that when yams, cocoas, plantains, rice, or any other wholesome vegetable can be procured cheaply, the crews be put on two-thirds allowance of bread.

(D.)

Instructions from Captain Trotter to the Commander of the "Amelia."

Encl. D. in Captain Trotter's Report.

(Copy.)

H. D. Trotter, Captain.

Memorandum.

On Her Majesty's steam-vessel, under my command, proceeding up the Niger, you are to place the Albert's tender, the Amelia, in the most convenient anchorage off Mount Stirling, and remain within sight of the confluence of the Niger and Chadda, until the return of the steam-vessels down the rivers, or until you receive further orders.

Mr. Carr, the superintendent of the model farm, having applied to me to afford him such protection from the natives as will secure him and the people and property placed under his charge against aggression, you will consider it an especial part of your duty to afford him all the protection in your power, and as the presence of your vessel will be the best preventive against hostility on the part of the natives, you will in general secure the Amelia as near the party on shore as a due regard to the health of those remaining on board and the safety of the brigantine will permit, and you are to make such arrangements with Mr. Carr as you may find necessary.

Your party will land any part of the model farm property still remaining in the Amelia at such times and places as Mr. Carr may request, and you are at all times to take such measures as may be essential for the safety and advancement of the same. A large tent has been lent to Mr. Carr at his request for a short time until the erection of his house is complete, you are to consider yourself responsible for the due care of this tent, and have it examined occasionally for that purpose, and you will take such steps for the due security of the tent or any other public property left on shore by means of a ditch, palisades, &c., as you may, with the advice of the sapper, think necessary, which by a little extension will also tend to the safety of Mr. Carr and his people in the event of any unforeseen attack of the Felatahs, or for the safety and advancement of the same.

The health of the people under your charge will at all times require the most watchful solicitude of yourself and the medical officer, by causing them to avoid great exposure to the sun, particularly in the hottest part of the day, and by not allowing the white men to go on shore

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Encl. D. in Captain Trotter's Report.

between sunset and 7 o'clock in the morning according to my general order of 16th June, 1841, and not permitting any of your party unnecessarily to go into swampy or uncleared lands.

Your vessel must be thoroughly cleansed and fumigated as often as it can be conveniently done, and always when the assistant surgeon deems it necessary. You will provision your party, as far as practicable, from the resources of the country, for the purchase of which, articles of barter are put under your charge, keeping a careful account of all purchases made, which must be issued according to the general printed Instructions and my Memorandum of the 26th August, 1841. Any extra supply of cattle, goats, sheep, yams, &c., which you may have the means of procuring and retaining for the use of the steam-vessels on their return to this anchorage, you may also purchase to the extent of one month's consumption for one hundred men.

You will give to Mr. Ansell, the gardener, every facility of carrying on his investigations, allowing him the services of William Jackson, and giving him permission to provide himself and Jackson with a residence on shore if he pleases, with permission to draw their provisions from the Amelia.

After your vessel is secured and properly cleansed, you will employ your men as most advantageous for the public service, and one of the first things that ought to engage your attention is the cutting of wood for fuel for the use of the steam-vessels on their return. The natives might, with benefit to the service and themselves, be encouraged to supply wood, and I recommend stakes being put into the ground in various places, by which they would know exactly the size of the cord, and they should be desired to cut billets of two feet in length, split into pieces about the size of a man's arm; and as you have under your charge a quantity of coal-tar pitch, which Mr. Grant has found will make valuable fuel when mixed with charcoal instead of coal-dust; you will, if possible, hire some of the native charcoal manufacturers to assist your own people in preparing it for mixing it with the pitch, and —— Johnson, who saw Mr. Grant's fuel made at Deptford, is left in the tender for the purpose of aiding you in this important duty.

Her Majesty's Commissioners having lately made a conditional purchase for the Crown of a tract of country on the banks of the Niger included between the rivulet north of Mount Patteh and another rivulet emptying itself in the Niger south of the mountains Saddleback and Soracti, the western boundary being a line joining Outram Deacon and Soracti and the nearest points of the above-mentioned rivulets, and as it is most desirable, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, that a survey of this ceded district should be made, you are to use all the means in your power for this purpose, and Craig, the Sapper, has been left with you for this purpose, as well as to throw up any defence that may be required.

The land in the immediate neighbourhood will naturally engage your attention first, and you will be particularly careful in marking the boundaries of the land which is now under cultivation or has houses upon it, as by the Deed of Cession such land is to be considered the property of the present occupiers. You will take especial care in the execution of such survey not to risk the health of yourself, Craig, or any other person by exposure to the sun or rain; and, for the purpose of saving fatigue, you are at liberty to purchase three horses on the public account. It is desirable you should take the survey in such a manner as to enable you to lay it down on an 8 inch scale, and any correct sketches of the country by a camera lucida or otherwise would be very desirable.

You will take pains to register correct observations taken with the philosophical instruments left in your charge, which will be very valuable, taken as they will be in a fixed situation.

You will consider every information regarding the territory and the persons living upon it of primary importance, ascertaining the numbers, occupations, and dispositions of the various inhabitants you meet, and all particulars relative to any predatory incursions which may have been made by the Foulahs or others upon the natives, and ascertaining, as far as possible, the nature and pretexts of such incursions. In fact, it is so desirable that every possible information should be afforded to Her Majesty's Government to enable them to judge of the propriety of retaining this portion of country, lately ceded to Her Majesty, that the information concerning it cannot be of too varied a character, and for this purpose you are to keep a daily journal of observations, mentioning in it whatever may attract your notice, and furnishing me hereafter with a copy thereof.

In the important duty of collecting information you will doubtless derive much valuable assistance from the zeal and intelligence of Messrs. Collman and Kingdon, whom you will direct to record all matters of interest coming within their observation, whether derived from their own experience or from conversation with intelligent natives. You will direct them to keep a journal punctually from day to day unless absolutely prevented by uncontrollable necessity. The doing so may at times prove irksome, but it will in the end abundantly compensate all who do so for the self denial and effort which it may involve.

Given under my hand on board the Albert off Mount Sterling, oppcsite to the Confluence of the Niger and Chadda, 19th September, 1841.

(Signed) H. D. Trotter, Captain and Senior Officer.

To Mr. Webb,* Mate, commanding Her Majesty's
Brigantine Amelia.

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* On Mr. Webb being taken on board the Albert, on account of fever, these orders were transferred to Mr. Kingdon, and by Mr. Kingdon, when he was obliged to leave the Amelia, on account of illness, to Mr. King.

Encl. E. in Captain Trotter's Report.

(Copy.) (E.)

From Dr. McWilliam to Captain Trotter.

H. D. TROTTER.

Her Majesty's Ship Albert, at the confluence of the Niger and Tchadda, September the 17th,* 1841.

Sir,

HAVING, by your direction, proceeded on board Her Majesty's ships Wilberforce and Soudan, I found the state of the sick lists on board of these ships to be as set down in the accompanying Report, from which you will perceive that the fever, which made its appearance among the crews of the squadron under your command when at Iddah, has continued to increase, and now prevails to a formidable extent.

For the restoration of the sick, I consider a change of climate to be indispensable; and having no experience of the salubrity of the higher lands in this neighbourhood, it only remains for me to suggest to you the propriety of placing the patients of the squadron likely to improve by such a change on board one of the ships which will descend the river with all speed, and then proceed onwards to Fernando Po or Ascension, where they will have the benefit of hospital accommodation, in addition to that likely to be derived from climate.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. O. McWILLIAM, M.D.,
Surgeon, Her Majesty's Ship Albert.

Capt. H. D. Trotter,
&c. &c. &c.

REPORT of the Sick on board Her Majesty's Ships Albert, Wilberforce, and Soudan, on the 17th* September, 1841.

	Number of Officers.	Number of White Seamen.	Number of Marines and Sappers.	Number of Kroomen, African Boys, and East and West Indians.	Agriculturists, Apprentices, &c.	Total.
Her Majesty's Ship Albert, including Amelia Tender.						
Victualled	19	27	14	78	20	158†
Placed on Sick List for Fever since 4th inst.	2	15	5	5	..	27
Discharged to duty	1	..	..	..	.	1
Died	1	3	..	..	..	4
Remain on the Sick List	..	12	5	5	..	22
Among whom are convalescent	..	2	2	2	..	6
Effective on board the ship and tender	18	12	9	73	..	112
Effective on shore	..	..	..	..	20	20
Her Majesty's Ship Wilberforce.						
Victualled	..	..	..	..	..	..
Placed on the Sick List for Fever since 4th inst.	7	13	5	..	..	25
Discharged to duty	..	1	..	..	..	1
Died	..	1	1	..	..	2
Remain on Sick List	7	11	4	..	..	22
Among whom are convalescent	1	1	..	..	..	2
Effective on board the ship	..	..	..	..	..	..
Effective on shore	..	..	..	..	..	..
Her Majesty's Ship Soudan.						
Victualled	9	13	4	22	..	48
Placed on Sick List for Fever since 3d inst.	5	9	2	1	..	17
Discharged to duty	..	..	..	..	..	..
Died	..	1	..	..	..	1
Remain on Sick List	5	8	2	1	..	16
Among whom are convalescent	..	1	1	1	..	3
Effective on board the ship	4	5	2	21	..	32
Effective on shore	..	..	..	..	..	..

SUMMARY.

Total Number	placed on List	69
,,	discharged to duty	2
,,	dead	7
,,	remaining on List	60
,,	effective on board	
,,	effective on shore	
,,	convalescent	

(Signed) J. O. McWILLIAM, M.D., Surgeon.

* The date ought to have been the 18th, and not the 17th.

† This is the number *victualled by*,—not the number *belonging to* the Albert.

RIVER NIGER.

Encl. F. in Captain Trotter's Report.

(F.)

Her Majesty's Steam Vessel Albert, off Gori Market, in the river Niger; Thursday, September 23rd, 1841.

MINUTES of the Trial of Ajimba, son of the Chief of Muyè, who was detected with three slaves in his canoe, with horses and other goods, returning from Egga market, the exportation of slaves being contrary to the Treaty made on the 6th September with the Attah of Iddah, to whom Muyè is subject.

Captain Trotter said to Mr. M'Auley, the interpreter, "Explain to Ajimba that the Attah of Iddah made a law seventeen days ago, by which he prohibited all his subjects from buying or selling slaves, and that the Attah promised to send word up the river to that effect; and at this place the Chief of Muyè's canoe is found with slaves bought in the Egga market, with other property. Now, as this place is in the Attah's dominions, I, by virtue of the Treaty, have seized the canoe and all the property in it. What have you to say? The slaves are now free, and the canoe ought to be broken up, according to the law made with the Attah of Iddah."

Captain Trotter desired Aduku, the son of the Attah, to listen.—*Aduku*: "Yes."

Ajimba, son of the Chief of Muyè, and owner of the boat, said: "I cannot object to anything that has been said; the law has been broken; but I plead, in my defence, ignorance; and if my father, the Chief, had known the law, he would not have sent a boat to trade for slaves."

Captain *Trotter* (to Aduku). How was it that Ajimba's father was not made acquainted with the law?

Aduku. My father sent people to tell all his people to give up the Slave Trade; but this place is far away, and my father took his own time to make it known. It would look like force to take this boat.

Captain *Trotter* (to Aduku). Your father has had plenty of time to send up. He sent you away the day after the treaty was made, and you have not done as he told you.

Aduku. The people who were in the canoe left Muyè before this law was made known.

Captain *Trotter* (to Aduku). You were at this (Gori) market four or five days ago.

Aduku. I have been here twice since the law was made. I have informed the people higher up, at a place called "Putah" or "Biddu."

Captain *Trotter* (to Ajimba). The Prince says he was some days ago higher up the river, and told the people; and you might have heard of the law.

Ajimba. I have not been at home since the law was made known.

Aduku remarked that when he came up he did not see the people of this canoe at Muyè, they being absent at Egga; but he explained the law to the Chief of Muyè.

Captain *Trotter.* How often do boats go up to Egga from Muyè.

Ajimba. Three moons ago I was at Egga, and not since.

Captain *Trotter* (to Aduku). How near to Egga does your father's dominions extend? How many days from Egga?

Aduku. The King of Iddah, before the ravages of the Felatahs, possessed the land up to Rabbah. He now has under his power only as far as Biddu, two days below Egga.

Captain *Trotter* (to Ajimba). The law was made seventeen days ago; the Prince was sent the next day by the Attah to tell the people up the river, but he has not done so. He has been to blame, and not you. According to the law, the slaves must be made free, and the property ought to be seized; but, as you did not know the law, I shall only make the slaves free: for this time the canoe and property will not be condemned. I am sorry the Prince should have got you into this scrape; had he made the law properly known at "Biddu," this violation of it would not have taken place. I shall, whenever I see the Attah, tell him how sorry I am that his son neglected to do as he told him.

Aduku. It is not my fault; I told the people of "Putah" to give up the Slave Trade.

Captain Trotter took the opportunity of telling the Prince that if he had told the Chief at Gori Town, no slaves would have been sold in that market; now five slaves were sold, or, at all events, brought from Bornou yesterday.

Captain *Trotter* (to Ajimba). The Queen of England desires to be friends with all black men; has sent us out to put an end to the Slave Trade. Your God is our God, and it is contrary to one of his commandments to sell your fellow man.

This time you may go with the canoe and property, but the slaves are free, and may remain if they like; another time the canoe and property will be broken up.

H. D. TROTTER, Captain.

The Prince was requested by Captain Trotter to make known to the Attah the seizure of the canoe and the emancipation of the slaves immediately on his arrival at Iddah.

J. O. McWILLIAM, M.D., Pro Secretary.

(Copy.) (G.)

From Captain Trotter to Commander W. Allen and Mr. Cook.

H. D. TROTTER, Captain.

Her Majesty's Steam Vessel Albert, Fernando Po; 19th November, 1841.

Encl. G. in Captain Trotter's Report.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE to inform you that the paralysed state of the Expedition by the sickness that has occurred amongst the crews of the steam vessels, renders it necessary that I proceed to

RIVER NIGER.

Encl. G. in Captain Trotter's Report.

England to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the state of the vessels; and I have accordingly written to their Lordships and the Secretary of State, that I may be expected to arrive in England about March. It was my intention to have proceeded to Ascension, to consult with you as to the future operations of the mission, but Mr. Thomson, acting surgeon of the Soudan, my medical attendant during the illness of Dr. McWilliam, has strongly urged the necessity of my return to England direct, as offering the best means of a speedy recovery from illness, caused by a fever with which I was attacked while in the Niger. I am in consequence about to proceed to England from this place in the Warree merchant vessel.

It is my painful duty to acquaint you of the death of Commander Bird Allen, which took place on the 26th of October last, from the effects of a fever contracted in the river, and I am sure you will deplore with me the loss of so intelligent, zealous, and amiable a coadjutor. By this lamentable event a vacancy has arisen in the Commission, which I consider it will be unadvisable to fill up until it be seen who will have sufficient health to return to the Coast of Africa and be able to re-ascend the Niger to fulfil the duty of Commissioner.

As I have given Commander Allen orders not to leave Ascension for the Coast till the 1st of June, Her Majesty's Government will have sufficient time to communicate their wishes as to the future proceedings of the Commission.

In the event of the Government not requiring my further services on my arrival in England, I shall briefly inform you, for your guidance, of the state of the Niger as far as Egga, the highest part of the river which I reached in the Albert.

Commander Bird Allen having been unhappily taken ill with fever a few hours after the Albert parted with the Wilberforce, which never for one day left him till his death, I was altogether deprived of his valuable services, with the exception of getting his opinion in one or two cases. The effects of the incursions of the Felatahs on the right bank of the Niger you had ample opportunity of witnessing before you left the river, particularly at the deserted town of Adda Kuddu. We found the inhabitants on each bank as we advanced complaining of their vexatious and tyrannous conduct towards them. All those towns with which we communicated paid tribute or taxes to them—even Buddu or Kakunda; although up to that place the Chief is still chosen by the Attah of Iddah, to whom he pays a nominal tribute. At Egga, however, the Felatahs appeared to have complete control. The Chief, Rogang, acknowledged that he was placed there by Samo Sariki, the King of Rabba, with no power at all to act unless under his knowledge and direction. The following is the answer which he gave when I sent the Rev. Mr. Schön to say for what object the Commissioners had been sent from England: He replied, "He was anxious to see the commander of the vessel; that he had heard of our coming before, and was very glad to hear that we had not come to make war, but to establish peace; but that he was prevented from going on board for fear of the Felatahs; that the King of the Felatahs would soon hear of it, and, as he was afraid of the white people, he would say, 'Ah Rogang has joined the white people;' and as soon as the white people had returned he would have to suffer for it. He had heard before that our object was to abolish the Slave Trade, and that, as far as he was concerned, he was quite agreeable to it, but would do nothing until his King had done something in favour of the measure. He plainly told us his opinion that the Felatahs would not like it, and that God alone was able to bring it to pass."

The kingdom of Nufi is under the entire subjugation of the Fulatahs, according to Rogang —the two claimants for the throne, Edrissa, who lives at Barra, one day higher up the river than Egga, and the Magia, who resides beyond Rabba, having no power or authority of any kind.

An order was said to have lately arrived from Rabbah to collect all the Felatah soldiers from the lower part of the river, as their services could no longer be spared in making slaves at a distance, but were required near Soccatoo; and I have reason to think there was some truth in the report, as great numbers were being despatched to Rabba during the time we were lying at Egga.

Before leaving Egga I thought it advisable to send a present to the King of Rabba, and I therefore despatched Mr. Brown on shore with a green silk velvet tobe, a richly bound Arabic Bible, and a coloured engraving of the steam-vessels, and desired him to deliver them over to Rogang with a message which he was to have literally translated. Captain Bird Allen was well enough at this time to concur with me in the propriety of this present and message; the latter was as follows:—"The messengers of the Queen of England are prevented from going to Rabbah at present on account of illness and the falling of the river; but they expect to return and see the King next year, and will then deliver their message to the King more fully; they send him now a present as a token of their friendly feelings towards the King of Rabbah. The chief thing they come for is to persuade the Kings of Africa to put an end to the exportation of slaves, and to establish commercial intercourse between these countries and Great Britain, which would be much more advantageous to the Kings and people of Africa than the exportation of slaves. The English have made a settlement at Pandaiki, or Adda-Kuddu; and the King of Rabba must not allow his warriors to come near Pandaiki or Adda Kuddu, as all the neighbouring people are friends to the Queen of England and her people. A drawing of the vessels composing the Niger Expedition is sent to the King of Rabba, by which he will see that it consists of three large vessels and one small one."

Rogang replied that he was glad we had sent the present, as the King of Rabba would not have otherwise understood the reason of our coming to Egga and advancing no further, and would have been very suspicious of our conduct without such a demonstration of good feeling. He said the presents should be delivered safely to the King of Rabba.

RIVER NIGER.

Encl. G. in Captain Trotter's Report.

I am of opinion, since gaining the above information, that Rabbah is the first place which the Commissioners ought to visit in the Niger next year; and I am sorry to find from Captain Becroft that it will be impossible for the larger steam-vessels of the Expedition, and even the Soudan, unless she be lightened to four feet, which would be difficult, to ascend so far as that place till about the 1st of September. This, I consider, renders it advisable that the Expedition should not enter the river till the beginning of August, so as to pass up to Rabbah without any delay. Any detention in the intermediate parts of the river might be fatal to the accomplishment of a Treaty there, for past experience cannot but lead to the conclusion that the climate of the river is most injurious to European constitutions. After the Treaty is concluded at Rabbah (which I trust may embrace some clause in favour of Nufi and Kakanda) the vessel might descend to the confluence, and still have time to ascend the Chadda.

I have said thus much about future operations, supposing it possible only to make one steam-vessel efficient. If a greater force can be sent up the river, of course more may be done up the Chadda; but still I think the same principle ought to be attended to, and no vessel ought to enter the river without a certainty of there being water enough to carry her beyond the confluence. Captain Allen can best speak as to the proper time for ascending the Chadda, so as not to risk detention.

Following out the same principle with regard to the Coast, and still considering Rabbah as the place of all others that the Commissioners ought to strive to reach next year, I consider in the present debilitated state of the Expedition, that to visit the rivers in the Bight of Biafra in the steam-vessels, with the view of entering into Treaties with the Chiefs near the sea-coast, would be materially risking the completion of the Treaties up the Niger. The health of every body who has any idea of going next year up the Niger ought, on the contrary, to be the main object of care until the water of the river allows a free and easy passage up.

It is for these reasons that, in my letter to the Admiralty, I fixed upon the 1st of June as the proper time for leaving Ascension; and that, in my letter to the Secretary of State, a copy of which is enclosed, I mentioned the 1st of July as the time I might rejoin the mission at Fernando Po, previous to its departure thence for the Niger.

I conceive that it will be very desirable that you should, by the very first opportunity, send home your opinion to the Secretary of State of the best plan of operations next year, as your views on the subject may differ from my own.

Before concluding, I must call your attention to the enclosed copy of the Minutes of a trial which took place when I seized a Kakanda canoe, for a breach of the Iddah Slave Treaty. The individual who had the slaves in his canoe (the son of the Chief of Muyè) had evidently never heard of the Treaty, but still he admitted the justice of my decision in freeing the slaves; and as the seizure took place just opposite to Gori, before the people had quitted the market, the news of the event reached Egga before the arrival of the Albert, and I have reason to believe a very good effect was produced by the seizure. The Attah, as we passed Iddah, sent to say that he was quite glad we had made the seizure. The three slaves are now living comfortably with their fellow-countrymen at Clarence Cove, Fernando Po, under the names of Albert Gori, Hannah Buxton, and Elizabeth Fry.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) H. D. Trotter, Captain, R. N.

To Commander William Allen, and
William Cook, Esq.

(H.)

From Captain Becroft to Captain Trotter.

(Copy.)
H. D. Trotter, Captain.

Sir, Clarence Cove, 23rd November, 1841.

Encl. H. in Captain Trotter's Report.

In reply to the Queries you handed me a few days ago, I beg leave to state, to the best of my judgment, as follows:—

Query 1st.—A vessel drawing four feet, and wishing to reach Rabbah as quick as possible, should not enter the river previous to the 1st of July.

Query 2nd.—A vessel drawing five feet water, and wishing to proceed direct to Rabbah, should not enter the river before the end of July.

Query 3rd.—Wishing to ascend the river as high as Addacoodoo in the month of March, should not draw more than three feet.

I beg leave to state that the communication I have given above is with the experience I had last year, starting in the Ethiope from Benin in May, drawing five feet ten inches water. I had great trouble and difficulty in ascending, particularly a few miles above Eboe, which was the latter end of May; but then I had to discharge the whole of her cargo, which lightened her to four feet.

I am, &c.,
To Captain H. D. Trotter, R. N., (Signed) John Becroft.
&c. &c.

P. S.—I ought to observe, that though a vessel might get up drawing three feet, there would be considerable risk of detention in the month of March, that is when the river is at its lowest. I believe I told you in conversation, that I was a month from Egga to Rabbah, arriving at Rabbah on the 26th of August. The Ethiope's draught of water was five feet eight at that time, and had to discharge her cargo five or six times to get over the shoals.

(Signed) J. B.

(I.)

STATEMENT of the Number of Cases of *River* Fever on Board the Vessels of the Niger Expedition in 1841.

Encl. I. in Captain Trotter's Report.

	Albert.	Wilberforce	Soudan.	Amelia.	Total.
Europeans:—					
Officers	13	6	9	3	31
Civilians	..	6	..	..	6
Engineers	3	3	2	..	8
Stokers	4	3	4	..	11
Remainder of Crew	24	31*	15	4	74
Coloured:—					
Civilian (West Indian)	..	1	..	..	1
Men entered in England	5	..	1	..	6†
Men entered in Africa	..	..	..	..	..
	49	50	31	7	137

H. D. TROTTER, Captain.

* Five of these had previously had remittent fever before entering the river.

† Besides these, three belonging to the Wilberforce (who had had remittent fever on the coast) had fever up the river, but Dr. Pritchett considered it to be rather of the nature of ague than of the remittent type. There was also one other case in the Soudan, which, though remittent, was not, however, of the same character as the fever which attacked the Europeans.

(K.)

STATEMENT of the Number of Deaths from the effects of *River* Fever, in consequence of ascending the Niger in 1841.

Encl. K. in Captain Trotter's Report.

	Albert.	Wilberforce	Soudan.	Amelia.	Total.
Europeans:—					
Officers	5	1	5	1	12
Civilians	..	1	..	..	1
Engineers	1	..	..	..	1
Stokers	2	1	2	..	5
Remainder of the Crew	9	4	6	3	22
Coloured:—					
Men entered in England	..	..	..	..	..
Men entered in Africa	..	..	..	..	..
	17	7	13	4	41

H. D. TROTTER, Captain.

(L.)

ABSTRACT of the preceding Tables, A, I, K, showing the Number of *Europeans* belonging to the Niger Expedition, who ascended the River in 1841, and the number of those who had *River* Fever, as wellas of those who died from its effects.

Encl. L. in Captain Trotter's Report:

	Number on Board.		Ill with River Fever.		Died of River Fever, or its effects.	
	Officers, including Engineers and Civilians.	Men.	Officers, including Engineers and Civilians.	Men.	Officers, including Engineers and Civilians.	Men.
Albert	18	33	16	28	6	11
Wilberforce	21	36	15	34	2	5
Soudan	11	19	11	19	5	8
Amelia	3	4	3	4	1	3
	53	92	45	85	14	27

H. D. TROTTER, Captain.

(M.)

TABLE showing the Number of Days the Expedition was in the River.

Encl. M. in Captain Trotter's Report.

	Albert.	Wilberforce.	Soudan.
Number of Days at the Mouth of the River within the Bar.	8	9	6
Number of Days up the River	56	36	32
Total number of Days in the River	64	45	38

H. D. TROTTER, Captain.

(N.)

EXTRACT from Meteorological Register of Her Majesty's Steam Vessel Albert. August 9 to October 16, 1841.

	Date.	Temperature.								Weather.
		3 P.M.			9 P.M.					N.B.—The Wind was always South-westerly, except when otherwise denoted.
		Air.	Difference of Dew point.	Difference of Wet bulb.	Air.	Difference of Dew point.	Difference of Wet bulb.	Max.	Min.	Average height of Barometer at the sea 29°,9 ,, ,, at Egga 29,5
	August	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	
Outside the Bar of the Nun.	9	74·5	2·5	1·	75·	1·	0·5	77·	72·	Heavy rain all day.
	10	79·5	6·5	3·	78·	4·	2·	80·	76·	Fine. Cloudy in afternoon.
	11	81·	9·	5·	78·	4·	2·	81·	75·5	Hazy in morning. Fine.
	12	83·	9·	7·	78·	3·	2·	83·	78·	Hazy, but fine.
At the Mouth of the Nun.	13	83·	7·	5·	80·	3·	2·	83·	78·5	Rain during the day, heavy lightning.
	14	80·	5·	3·	77·	3·	1·	80·5	75·5	Rain at 3 A.M. and 9 A.M. Showery during day.
	15	79·	3·	2·	75·	3·	1·	83·	74·	Fine during day. Rain in evening.
	16	76·	3·	2·5	76·	2·	2·	79·	62·	Rain all night, and forenoon cloudy. Strong sea breeze.
	17	79·	7·	4·	77·	2·	1·	80·	68·5	Rain all night, and up to 11 A.M. Cloudy afternoon.
	18	81·	5·	3·	75·	3·	1·	82·	70·	Fine. Strong sea breeze.
	19	81·	9·5	5·	79·	5·	2·	83·	76·	Fine.
	20	86·	14·	8·	80·5	6·	3·5	86·	77·	Beautiful weather. Clear.
	21	83·	9·	5·	77·	4·	2·	87·5	73·5	A little rain early in the morning. Fine during day. Cloudy in evening.
	22	78·	2·	1·	78·	2·	1·	80·	73·5	Rain during night. Morning and afternoon fine.
	23	79·	4·	1·5	78·	2·	1·	82·	74·	Fine during night and morning. Rain in forenoon.
	24	85·	7·	6.	79·	4·	3·	86·5	73·	Fine throughout. Small rain in morning.
	25	76·	3·	1·	78·	3·	2·	84·5	73·	Rain during night, and nearly all day.
At Aboh.	26	77·5	2·5	1·5	77·	3·	2·	82·	73·	Rain during night from 12 to 3 A.M., and in afternoon.
	27	..	..	..	78·	3·	1·	83·	72·	Rain during night, and in the afternoon.
	28	79·	4·	3·	78·	4·	2·	81·	71·	Rain during night. Light showers during day.—Wind S.S.E.
	29	78·	5·5	4·	77·	3·	2·	84·5	73·	Rain forenoon and afternoon.
	30	82·	8·	5·	77·	3·	1·	83·	72·	Heavy rain during night and day.
	31	86·	10·5	9·	79·	4·	2·	87·	74·	Fine throughout.—Wind north-westerly
	September 1	87·	..	..	78·	4·	3·	87·	74·	Forenoon fine. Afternoon rain.—Wind variable.
At Iddah.	2	84·	10·5	7·	77·5	3·5	2·	87·5	75·	Fine throughout.
	3	77·	4·	2·	74·	4·	2·	79·	71·	Rain in forenoon and afternoon.
	4	80·	10·	8·	82·	8·	4·	89·	75·	Occasional rain.—Wind southerly.
	5	83·	10·5	7·	79·	6·	5·	87·	76·	Rain during night, day fine, calm.
	6	79·	7·	4·	79·	4·	2·	81·	74·	Forenoon heavy rain, evening fine.—Wind westerly.
	7	87·	15·	9·	74·	2·	2·	88·	73·	Fine during day. Rain in evening.—Wind W.N.W.
	8	85·	13·	7·	79·	5·	3·	88·	73·	Fine in forenoon. Heavy squall in afternoon.—Wind westerly.
	9	77·	5·	3·	78.	4·	2·	89·	74.	Heavy squall with rain and thunder towards evening.
At the Confluence	10	86·	6·	4·	80·	6·	4·	89·	75·	Rain in afternoon, overcast in evening, afterwards vivid lightning.—Wind W.S.W.
	11	86·	11·	8·	82·	4·5	2·5	87·	78·	Stagnated atmosphere, cloudy in evening. Lightning.—Wind easterly.
	12	87·	9·	4·	81·	5·	4·	90·	76·	Fine, but sultry. Overcast in evening. —Wind W.S.W.
	13	87·	13·	8·	80·	5·	5·	89·	74·	Fine, but oppressive during day. Lightning with beautiful corruscations in evening.—Calm.
	14	86·5	13·5	8·5	83·	3·	1·	90·	76·	The same as yesterday.—Wind westerly.
	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	. . . . .
	16	77·	3·	2·	76·	2·	2·	83·	73·	Fine morning, heavy rain and squalls afterwards.—Wind northerly.
	17	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	. . . . .
	18	84·	11·	7·	78·	5·	3·	87·	78·	Fine, but close and sultry. Rain in afternoon.—Wind variable.
	19	87·	15·	9·	80·	6·	3·	90·	78·	Fine during day, lightning in evening. Cloudy. Calm.
	20	84·	9·	6·	79·	5.	3·	88·	73·5	The same as yesterday.—Wind S.E.

Extract from Meteorological Register of Her Majesty's Steam Vessel Albert—*continued.*

Date.	Temperature. 3 P.M. Air.	3 P.M. Difference of Dew point.	3 P.M. Difference of Wet bulb.	9 P.M. Air.	9 P.M. Difference of Dew point.	9 P.M. Difference of Wet bulb.	Max.	Min.	Weather. N. B.—The Wind was always South-westerly, except when otherwise denoted. Average height of Barometer at the sea 29°,9 ,, ,, at Egga 29,5
September	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	
21	89·	..	..	78·	..	..	90·	78·	Heavy rain, with thunder and lightning. —Wind N.E.
22	89·	20·	12·	82·	6·	3·	92·	76·	Fine throughout. Lightning in evening. Calm.
23	89·	15·	10·5	84·	6·	4·	92·	78·	Rain in afternoon, afterwards fine. Calm.
24	82·	7·	4·	80·	6·	2·	84·	77·	Fine in morning, heavy rain with thunder and lightning.—Wind E.N.E.
25	78·	3·	2·	78·	5·	4·	85·	74·	Fine in morning, rain in afternoon and evening.
26	88·	17·	10·	82·	5·	4·	90·	79·	Fine throughout, close and sultry, moonlight, sky clear.—Calm.
27	92·	18·	12·	82·	6·	3·	93·	80·	Sultry and oppressive.—Wind N.W.
28	91·	18·	11·	76·	2·	1·	93·5	74·	Fine but sultry during day. Heavy rain and squall in evening at nine.— Wind east.
29	90·	15·	10·	74·	2·	1·	91·	73·	Sultry during day. Tornado in evening and heavy rain.—Wind S.E.*
30	91·	20·	11·	74·	2·	1·	90·	72·	Sultry during day. Tornado in evening.
At Egga. October.									
1	85·	12·	7·	84·5	4·5	2·5	89·	71·	Overcast during day.—Calm.
2	82·	10·	6·	81·	5·	3·	86·	72·	Overcast.
3	92·	21·	11·	83·	5·	3·	96·	73·	Very sultry during day. Tornado in evening.
4	92·	22·	14·	80·	10·	4·	95·	73·5	The same as yesterday. Tornado in evening.—Calm.
5	92·5	17·5	10·	78·	6·	3·	96·	74·	The same.—Wind east.
6	92·	20·	11·	80·	8·	2·	95·	77·	Light breeze, fine all day.—Calm.
7	92·	19·	9·	80·	7·	5·	94·	75·	Fine throughout.—Calm.
8	90·	20·	10·	81·	9·	6·	93·	76.	Fine all day. Lightning in evening.
At the Confluence 9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	. . . . .
At the Confluence 10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	. . . . .
At Iddah. 11	90·	16·	10·	82·	6·	3·	92·	78·	Hot and sultry. Tornado in evening.
At Aboh. 12	86·	7·	4·	80·	4·	2·	89·	74·	Tornado in morning. Overcast all day.
13	84·	8·5	5·	80·	5·	2·	85·	74·	Hazy all day. Slight rain.
14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Fine all day. Clear sky.
At the mouth of the Nun. 15	89·	14·	10·	82·	7·	3·	91·	75·5	Cloudy, with occasional heavy rain.
At Sea. 16	78·	6·	3·	79·	3·	2·	82·	71·	Occasional rain, cloudy.

* During the continuance of a tornado the wind was always from the eastward.

(O.)

Encl. O. in Captain Trotter's Report.

(Copy.) *From the Master of the Lady Combermere to Captain Trotter.*

H. D. Trotter, Captain.

On Board the Lady Combermere, Clarence Cove, Fernando Po,
23rd October, 1841.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of this morning; and in answer to your question about the healthy and unhealthy seasons in the river Bonny, can confidently say, after 12 years' experience, that the rainy season, viz. June, July, August, and September, is pre-eminently the most healthy for Europeans, and it has proved to be so in the present year. I consider the most unhealthy months to be April, May, October and November, the two first-named months being immediately previous to the commencement, and the latter months immediately following the termination of the rains.

This season the rains ended unusually abruptly with the month of September, and sickness immediately ensued. There was little or no sickness this year in Bonny until the first week in October, since which it has been more than usually unhealthy, even for the season; for eight out of ten of the vessels have lost from two to five men each, and when I left Bonny, four days since, every vessel in the river had men laying in a very doubtful state.

Although the smokes, which prevail from December to February inclusive, are undoubtedly very prejudicial to the health of Europeans, I have noticed that there has been less mortality in these months than at the commencement and termination of the rains; and I consider that the unusual degree of sickness which has prevailed during the early part of the present month in Bonny, may, in great measure, be attributed to the excessively hot sun, (with little or no wind for days together,) which has so suddenly followed the very abrupt termination of the rains.

RIVER NIGER.

Encl. O. in Captain Trotter's Report.

I may remark that vessels lie off the town of Bonny, which is from three to four miles up the river, and well open to the general sea breezes; the crews are well protected from the weather by houses built of sticks and mats, about 18 feet above the decks, and projecting 3 feet exterior the vessel.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) T. MIDGLEY.

To Captain Trotter, R. N.,
&c. &c.

(P.)

REV. MR. SCHÖN'S NOTES.

Encl. P. in Captain Trotter's Report.

Benin Branch of Lieut. William Allen's Chart.*—The town on the right bank, where the Benin branch separates from the main river is called Anya in the Ibo language, signifying Eye, We could not obtain another name from the natives for the Benin branch than Miri, signifying water. They all agreed that the river Nun led in the shortest time to the Mirina—salt-water.

Their palm oil and their slaves are chiefly taken down the Benin branch to a town called Egabo in the Brass country. They offered several children to us for sale. I believe all were Yarubas.

ABOH.

Ibo, better Aboh.—I satisfied my own mind as to the correctness of several things which I long before learned, respecting some of the superstitions of the Ibo people. It appears but too true that human sacrifices are offered by them, and that in the most barbarous manner. The poor devoted victim is tied by his legs and dragged from place to place till he expires, and when dead he is cast in the sea. Infanticide is likewise committed, and is of a peculiar kind; the origin or cause of it I could never ascertain. Twins are never allowed to live; as soon as they are born they are put into two earthen pots, and exposed in the forest. The unfortunate mother is ever afterwards exposed to great troubles and hardships; a small hut is built for her in the bush, where she has to submit to many ceremonies for her purification, and remains separated from society for a considerable time. Her conjugal connexion with her husband is for ever dissolved, and she is never after permitted to sit down with other women, in the same market or in the same house. To give birth to twins is therefore justly considered the greafest misfortune which can befal a woman. If a child happens to cut his top teeth first, the poor creature is likewise killed; it is considered to indicate that the child would be a very wicked person in after life if it were allowed to live. There is a town in the Ibo country—where I could not sufficiently ascertain—which is called Tshukunga, or God's Town; there God dwells and gives his oracles from the ground. Any matters of importance is left to his decision; and people are travelling to the place from all parts of the country. The people of Aboh say that they can reach it in three months, or that it is at a distance of a journey of three months. Tshuku cannot be seen by any human eye; he speaks every language on earth, discerns thieves; and if there is any falsehood in the mind of the inquirer he is sure to find it out.

The whole nation speaking the Ibo language seems to be called the Ibo nation; while this part of the country and the town hitherto called by that name, ought to be called Aboh. The town was almost under water: we had to wade through the mud up to our knees to the very palace of the king; and on our visit on our return we got up in the boat to the very gate of the palace. The king himself said that his town was unhealthy, and there was too much water, and to European or other settlers he would point out better spots for their residence. Obi has one hundred wives. Under the piazza of his house there is an idol made of wood; in his left hand he holds a pistol, and in his right a sword, representing the god of war. In times of war every soldier is required to lay his hands on the idol, who secures him a safe return from the field. Obi proclaimed the Treaty he had entered into to his people the same night it was concluded. Obi's wish that Simon Jonas should stop with him proves to me several things which deserve notice. I conclude from it that Obi is sincere in his profession to act up to the terms of the Treaty which was just concluded with him. If he had had any intention of acting contrary to it he would not have wished to have a person about him who understands his language and can watch and observe all his proceedings, and who, as he well knew, would join the Expedition again, and would make known to the Commissioners anything that he might have considered wrong. It also shows that the objection so often raised that the Africans would not listen to their own country people in matters of religion, or anything else, and especially not to such as had been slaves before, is perfectly gratuitous. Obi was not ashamed to confess his ignorance, and to express his readiness to learn of one of his own country people something better.

Simon Jonas's† Account.—The children flocked around him every day to learn something; he counted about 2600 school children. The number of domestic slaves is, in his opinion, greater than the number of free people, and the treatment they receive at the hands of their masters is kind and humane. They are allowed after some years' service to build houses for themselves. Some have five or six wives—the surest sign of their acquiring property. After they have built their own house they are free, and cannot be called upon by Obi or their former masters to work for them. An annual tax is required of them by Obi, proportioned

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* This branch was discovered by Captain Becroft, of the Ethiope Steamer (in 1840), to lead to Warri, which town communicates, by creeks, with the river Benin or Formosa.

† This man, a native of the Ibo country, was one of the interpreters of the Niger Expedition. He resided at Aboh, from the 20th September to the 11th of October, 1841, on which latter day he rejoined the "Albert" on her passage down the river, and afterwards gave Mr. Schön the above information.

according to the property they possess. Each must pay forty yams to Obi in the yam season; those who possess many sheep and goats must pay him some of them too. The Benin people came up as far as Aboh with their canoes for palm oil; they chiefly pay rum, gunpowder, and guns for it; a very few articles of clothing, &c. find their way to Aboh. Obi has a large quantity of rum and powder, and is very liberal in the distribution of the former. It is the custom of the principal people of the town to wait on him every morning in several divisions, each comprising six persons, and each party receives one bottle of rum. The Bonny people carried slaves to Aboh for sale, but lately were told that Obi had given up the slave trade.

Iddah—Kingdom of Èggarrah.

The kingdom of the Attàh is called Èggarrah, also Igalla. The letters *r* and *l* are frequently interchanged with each other amongst the Africans. The extent of his kingdom is best ascertained from the official documents (Treaty). The town is either called Iddah or Addah; the former seems more correct. The population is not overrated at 5000. Some of the houses are built of bricks, made by the natives, not burned, merely dried in the sun, and might be much improved by European industry. Little ground is under culttvation, though the soil appears fertile. The people appear of a harmless nature; never asked for rum; all they begged of me was writing-paper; they are chiefly Pagans, but no idols are publicly set up in the town, though many other things of Pagan superstitions. The higher classes have embraced the Mahomedan religion, but know very little of it. The Mallams themselves are unable to read; and none of the King's Mallams could sign the Treaty. The Mallams are not only teachers, but carry on trade.

The people in general appear very healthy, and of a strong constitution. Yaws and craw-craws seem their principal diseases. Articles of trade are well described by Laird. Two accounts were given respecting the successor of the King in case of death; the first was, that the King chose his own successor; the second, that his eldest brother succeeded him as a matter of right.

*The opposite Shore of Iddah.**—"This shore is low and swampy, but abounds with large trees, which we commenced cutting. A number of natives, armed with bows, arrows, and short broad knives stuck in a girdle, made their appearance, inclined to make some resistance, but were soon satisfied with our explanation. We proceeded to the town, five miles distant, by a good road, through a dry country, cultivated with plantains, yams, Indian corn, and cotton. The town is called Wappa. The Chief calls himself Egada Yaluelama; appears to be under the King of Benin, whose name is said to be Obah, who sacrifices three human beings every day, one at sunrise, the second at noon, and the third at sunset. The Chief is said to be able to raise an army of 10,000 men, if required."

Confluence of Niger and Chadda.

Confluence.—There are four different languages spoken by the natives of the immediate vicinity of the Confluence, viz., the Kakanda, as it is called by the Nufi people, (or Shabi, as called by the Èggarrah people,) the Nufi, and Bunu languages. The inhabitants of the left bank or side of Chadda speak chiefly Èggarrah. The Nufi language appears to be most extensively understood, and to serve as the medium of conversation between all.

One of the villages on the left bank, opposite Addu Kudu, is called Shimri, another Gandeh; the Headman's name of the latter is Samabu. These two villages have been but lately peopled by the inhabitants of Addu Kudu, being driven away by the Filatahs or Filanis. They prefer the Addu Kudu side on account of its fertility, the opposite bank being low and marshy, and are anxious to return to Addu Kudu, in case of an English establishment at the place.

The statements of the people agreed together that the Chadda was an inconsiderable river in the dry season, and that the water became so low that a man could wade from one side to the other.

The Niger is called in the Haussa language Fari-nrua, or white water.

The Chadda, Baki-nrua, or dark water.

Kelebeh, on the right bank of the river, is of considerable size. Two of the inhabitants came on board, offering to show us a place to procure fuel, and pilot the vessels to Kakanda. We anchored (21st September) near Lelemu, on the right, and Atshiba, on the left, bank of the river. Lelemu is subject to the Attah; the Chief of Kakanda (Bornu) appoints the Headmen of the villages in this neighbourhood. They profess the Mahomedan religion; are visited now and then by Mallams from the interior, who teach them a few prayers, for which they receive payment. The army of the Filatahs was only one day's journey distant from Kelebeh, with a great number of horses, muskets, cutlasses, bows and arrows. They had lately killed many persons at Kelebeh, and carried away a great number as slaves to Rabba. No resistance is offered to the Filatahs; they describe them as a warlike nation.

Barker's Mountain is called Dolli and Eilden-hill Jegila by the natives. Omeh, on Captain Allen's chart, seems to be called Muyé; the name of the chief is Aggiddi; he estimates the inhabitants of it to be about 2000. The river is not expected to rise higher than it is at present; three months hence it will be quite low. The natives suffer much in the dry season from fever, the small-pox, and dysentery; use a medicine prepared from roots, and called Laboje. The canoes passing for Gori market contained but a few articles of trade, as tobacco, country grown, and ingeniously rolled together; some camwood, and a little ivory.

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* This information was obtained from Dr. Pritchett of the Wilberforce.

RIVER NIGER.

Encl. P. in Captain Trotter's Report.

Gori, not marked on Captain Allen's chart, on the right bank of the river, contains about 80 or 90 houses, a market town, said by some to be held every thirteenth day, by others every fifth day. No European articles of trade exposed. The native articles of commerce consisted of salt packed in grass bags, said to have come from Rabba; each contains about one bushel, and is sold at the rate of ; straw hats as large as a common umbrella, a little camwood, supposed to have come from the Ibo country; some large grass bags of cotton, the seeds still in them; beautifully made large tobes, carved calabashes, earthen pots of native manufacture, yams and tumatahs, several calabashes of shea butter, and one of cow butter. It was admitted that slaves were commonly sold at this market. Gori, with some other towns, as Akoka, Atshira, Egbu, and Area, were said to form an independent state, which, however, was contradicted the following morning, and it was fully proved that the Attah was their sovereign. These towns pay an annual tribute to the King of the Filatahs of 360,000 cowries, and to the Attah one horse. The Attah may levy troops at Gori; and in seasons of distress they call upon Attah for help. Aduku, son of the Attah, proclaimed the law his father had made relative to the abolition of the Slave Trade to the Headman, Mallam, Judge, King's-mouth, Chief Messenger, and principal people of the town.

The chief Mallam stated that 50 cowries were paid for each man, on the canoes visiting Gori market, to the Headman; and another statement was that only salt paid duty, each bag 50 cowries. It was said that five slaves had been sold at Gori on the day before our arrival.

The three slaves which were liberated were purchased at Egga. Two statements respecting the price paid for them:—1. The healthiest and strongest woman cost 40,000 cowries; and the other two 20,000 each. 2. He paid for all three six muskets, a keg of powder, and three fathoms of red cloth. The value either way may be about 5*l.* for three persons.

Bezzani.—A miserable town on the left bank of the river, containing about 200 inhabitants, speaking the Nufi language, tributary to the Filatahs. Kinami on the right bank of the river, subject to the King of the Filatahs by right of conquest, pays an annual tax of 20,000 cowries, and payment is rigidly exacted from them by the King's messengers, the people being often obliged to sell their own clothes or agricultural implements; a deficiency is made up by taking some as slaves to Rabba. There are no slaves exposed for sale at Kinami, if they want any they purchase them at Egga, where a slave market is held every fifth day.

Domestic slaves are kept in every village, and their condition differs little from that of their own proprietors. No other punishment can be inflicted by their masters for any offence than that of flogging; in case the slave endeavours to make his escape he may be sold, or if he commits theft or other offences more than once he may be sold also. Mutilation is not allowed. If a slave commits murder his punishment is death, and his master is fined in cowries; but if a master should kill a slave he would not be liable to capital punishment, but fined in money. The population of Kinami may be said to be about 1,000 or 1,100. The district, of which Kinami is one of the principal towns, is called Bushi,* commencing on the right bank opposite Bachinku, and extending as far as Egga, comprising about 40 towns or villages, the inhabitants of which are said to amount to about 30,000. They are an industrious people, make many country clothes, the wearing of which is excellent considering the rude instruments. The cotton is purchased from the Nufi people on the left bank, where the soil is better for its growth. Little is grown in the Bushi district. They commence planting it after the first fall of rain, and five months afterwards it is fit for use. The value of a bag, containing about one lb. and a-half with the seeds in, is 400 cowries, or about 6*d.* English. They collect a little bees' wax, grow generally much rice; this year's crop has been spoiled by the unusual height to which the river has risen. They have not much ivory, having no means of killing the elephants or taming them. They are said to be numerous in the neighbourhood. They sell yams, sheep, and goats at Egga and other towns; obtain their salt from Dohma, the Rabba people are said to get it from Yauri, to which place it is said to be brought from the interior of the Haussa country. The price of a bag, before described, is said to be 1,100 cowries, but I am afraid that this statement cannot be correct.

Their religion a mixture of Mahomedanism and Paganism.

They can marry as many wives as they are able to purchase, the average price of one is 20,000 cowries; this sum is paid to the parents of the young woman, whose consent is never required, the payment of the money, and eating and drinking together, constitutes the whole marriage ceremony. The wife thus acquired may be sent away again by her husband, but cannot be sold as a slave by him. The Fulatahs marry Nufi women, but never give their daughters in marriage to Nufi men. The Fulatahs appear to observe the laws of the Koran as regards the number of wives, and never marry more than four, and their Mallams solemnize the marriage by offering up some prayers. The Mahomedans are also said to offer up prayers at funerals. The natives of Kinami stated likewise that the rainy season was healthier than the dry season, in which they were generally much troubled with those diseases before mentioned.

EGGA.

Egga.—The name of the Chief, Rogang, a Nufi by birth, subject to the King of the Fulatahs. Answer of the Chief to our message—"He was anxious to see the commander of the vessel; that he had heard of our coming before, and was very glad to hear that we had not come to make war but to establish peace, but he was prevented from going on board from fear of the Fulatahs; that the King of the Fulatahs would soon hear of it, and as he was afraid of the white people he would say,—Ah, Rogang has joined the white people, and as soon as the white people had returned he would have to suffer for it. He had heard before that our objec.

* The Nufi language is spoken in this district.

RIVER NIGER.

Encl. P. in Captain Trotter's Report.

was to abolish the Slave Trade, and that as far as he was concerned he was quite willing to do it, but would do nothing until his King had done something in favour of the measure. He plainly told us that the Fulatahs would not like it, and that God alone was able to bring it to pass. He hates the Fulatahs, and would be glad if they could be stopped in their ravages. My endeavours to prevail on him to let us see the slaves proved ineffectual. The report of the liberation of three a few days before had reached his ears, and he said, as we had taken them, we might also take others. It was fully explained to him under what circumstances they had been taken, and that the agreement had been broken by the Attah's people, by which he was fully satisfied that the people were in the wrong. There were only a few Fulatahs present at the opening of the interview, and none in the private yard of the Chief.

There are no less than about 200 country looms employed in various places of Egga, sometimes as many as ten in one yard or open space; the looms are extremely simple, though the cloth made is very narrow, only about three inches wide; some quite white, others striped white, blue, and red; they make them about 50 yards long, and afterwards sow them together to any width or length required. In this simple manner they have the means of providing themselves with clothing; make large and wide tobes of them, which would nearly consume 15 yards of calico. The dye is made by themselves; the blue of indigo, the red of camwood. The latter is beaten to powder in a large wooden mortar by women, while the weaving is principally performed by men. There are sometimes four standing around the mortar with large wooden pestles in their hands, keeping time together, so that from a distance you fancy you hear four persons employed in thrashing corn. The powder thus obtained is mixed with clay, and made up into balls of the size of our English apple, and exposed to the sun to dry, and afterwards used, chiefly by females, to ornament their skin. The mode of applying it is this—the hand is made moist and then reddened by the ball, and smeared all over the body. I am told that it is not merely used as an ornament, but as a medicine too. The earthen country pots, of which they possess an enormous quantity, have the appearance from a distance of solid cast iron, and are used as cooking vessels. No real iron pots were observed. (Along the coast I have always observed that iron pots are most readily purchased by the natives.) Their earthen pots cannot be very strong, as heaps of them are seen broken in almost every corner; sometimes broken pieces are used for paving the floors of their houses, and they improve the houses much. I observed one single oyster-shell only exposed for sale; no white lime can therefore be procured in the country, as neither lime-stones nor oyster-shells can be found.

The market was inferior to Gori market. Some European beads, and a piece of handkerchiefs, were the only European articles that I noticed. Besides these mentioned at Gori market, I may mention, as having seen here, gunpowder, several horses, and 15 slaves, three of them were children under eight years of age, and 12 were grown-up women; very little rice, some raw and some red silks, said to have come from the Haussa country. No fire arms exposed for sale. Swords made in the country were seen (of iron); a great abundance of spears, and bows and arrows. The slaves before mentioned were said to have been taken in war by the Fulatahs; the grown-up persons are said to sell at 40,000 and the children at 20,000 cowries.

The town is the largest we have visited on the banks of the river; the population may with safety be said to be 8000. The Nufi language is the language of the country and town, though many other languages are spoken and understood, as Yaraba, (the capital of Yaruba, Katanga, is said to be 15 days journey distant from Egga), Haussa, Fulatah, Bornou, Eggarra, Kakanda, and others; people of many of these nations are joined with the Fulatahs, some by their own choice, others by force. The houses of Egga are a little better than those of Iddah, all of a conical shape; the walls of clay mixed with grass to render it more cohesive, and about 15 inches thick, some only six, and some are painted with indigo, which improves the houses much, and if the colour could be made brighter, it would be as good as English paint. There are sometimes two walls built for the same house, and the outer wall, about two feet distant from the inner, forms a kind of piazza, and is calculated to keep the inside dry and cool. They would improve the buildings much more if they were built at a greater distance from the dwelling house, and if a few windows or air holes were made in them. The houses have generally only one door; windows in any shape are not yet introduced. The town is, as much as I could perceive, entirely surrounded by water at this season of the year, and the swamps around it appear to extend to a considerable distance. These places may become quite dry in the dry season, but the healthiness of the place will not be improved by it; on the contrary, it is the unanimous opinion of all of whom I could inquire, that the mortality amongst the natives is sometimes very great when the river is in its lowest state. The stench arising at certain places is horrible, for reasons which I do not know how to express in language without offending the ears even of the deaf.

The people at Egga, not including strangers, differ in nothing from those below, as regards religion; the same mixture of Paganism and Mahomedanism exists. It is true fewer charms and other superstitions are observed than in the countries below Iddah. I was in the Mallam's house, who had several Arabic books beautifully written, but he could not read them himself; others who read them fluently do not understand the tenth part of what they are reading.

It appears not that the number of domestic slaves is as great as has been stated, bearing a proportion of three to one freeman; and as there is little ground under cultivation, proper employment could perhaps not be found for them. The Egga people seldom make or purchase slaves of their own, that is, the Nufi nation, and prefer purchasing such "who do not know their mother's house," that is whose native countries are far away, and whose escape is rendered difficult. The description given of the condition of domestic slaves is so favourable

RIVER NIGER.

Encl. P. in Captain Trotter's Report.

that I at first doubted its correctness, and inquired of several persons, who always agreed in the main points. The slave is allowed half the time to work for himself, and the other half he must devote to his master's service, for which he receives food and clothing; both are cheap. The clothing consists of a wrapper around his loins, and the food is chiefly obtained by the labours of the slaves. The slave may sell the produce of his farm after his proprietor has disposed of his own; and if engaged in trading, and employed in the canoes visiting the various market-places, he may have his own articles of commerce and sell them. He is permitted to purchase as many wives as his means will allow, and his offspring are free. This accounts, in some measure, for the continuance of the internal slave trade. If the slave can procure money enough, he frequently purchases his own freedom; after which he may remain unmolested in the town in which he has before been a slave, or return to his own country and nation. A domestic slave is only allowed to be sold when he is guilty of a crime; none taken for the debts of his master, is allowed to be sold out of the country.

Egga pays an annual tribute of 400,000 cowries to Sumo Sariki, and a still larger sum is squeezed from them in various other ways, and on many pretences, chiefly by fines for alleged offences. They only paid 50,000 cowries to the former king of the Nufi country. Sumo Sariki is said to allow his soldiers to sell or reap the profit of half the number of slaves they catch; it can therefore be no matter of surprise that they should be so zealous in their iniquitous pursuits.

The custom of painting their eyelids black with lead, much prevails in this part of the country. It gives the eyes a gentle appearance, and illustrates several passages of Scripture, as Jer. iv. 30, 2 Kings ix. 30. Compare the original. The beauty is lost in the English translation, which renders eye—face. Another ornament is used by them very frequently, the nails of their fingers are dyed red with the juice of a leaf, called in Nufi and Haussa Lalleh, in Arabic, Hanna, or Herma.

Nufi Kings.—Majia or Mamajia, and Ederisa or Ezu-Issa. The former residing at Lukuma, a town about one day's journey beyond Rabba; the latter at Barra, about one day's journey above Egga. It appears that about 23 years ago, Masa, King of the Nufi country, died; when a contest arose about the person who should be his successor. His son Majia laid claim to the throne, and likewise Jamala, son of the eldest daughter of Masa, and nephew of Majia. Majia called upon the Fulatahs for assistance; Jamala was killed, but his son Issa continued the contest for some time. The country was then divided between the two contending parties, and the title of King was allowed to each, while both became tributary to Sumo Sariki, King of the Fulatahs.

Ederisa is not used correctly; he cannot be called King Ederisa, Ezu, or Ezur (I am not sure that the *r* is heard), means King in the Nufi language; Issa is his proper name: instead, therefore, of spelling it Ederisa, it ought, in my opinion, to be spelt Ezu-Issa or Ezuer-Issa.

Majia is more frequently heard; Mamajia, abridged for Mallam Majia.

The name given to the King of the Fulatahs in common conversation is Sumozaki, or Sumor Sakki; it may be that Sumo is his proper name, and that Sariki or Saliki, meaning King in the Haussa language, is his title; as Sumo, the King; and Sumo Sariki would be the correct way of spelling it.

Message to Sumo Sariki sent from Egga, That the Commissioners were at present prevented from seeing him, on account of illness and the falling of the river, that they expected to return and see him next year, and deliver their message from the Queen of England to him; that the chief business they had come for was to prevent the exportation of slaves, and establishing a commercial intercourse between these countries and Great Britain. A drawing was sent to him of the vessels composing the Niger Expedition, and a present as a sign of their friendly feeling towards him. He was informed too that the English had made a settlement at Addu Kudu, and was requested not to allow his warriors to come near that place.

Sumo Sariki is the son of Mallam Dendo, and grandson of Sultan Bello. The chief Mallam's name of Rabba is said to be Musa, in common conversation called Mamusa, abridged for Mallam Musa. Audi Bossu is the head of the department of war. Mamadu, an influential person, a brother and favourite of the King Aliluh, is said to be King of Sokoto in place of his father. Bello Alibah is King of Yariba. Seita or Sita, King of Illoring, or Illorin, on the maps usually Alorie. His right is disputed by the Yaruba people, and he can only be called King of the party joining the Fulatahs.

According to information received, there is a river called Gindi, flowing from Sokoto, and emptying itself in the Niger, at a town called Gomba, situated on the left hand of the river. Our informant told us that the Albert might go in the rainy season to within three day's journey from Sokoto; and canoes can always go from Yauri to Sokoto in 15 days; and canoes can pass at any season of the year from Rabba to Yauri.

Rogang, the Chief of Egga, through whom the present and message was sent to Sumo Sariki, expressed himself pleased with the message and present, thought it was very well that a message was sent to him, as Sumo Sariki might otherwise have suspected that Rogang had prejudiced the minds of the Commissioners against the King; he wished they might recover their health soon, and return ere long; that the river would be high enough again for the vessels to ascend about seven months hence. Rogang stated there were rocks in the Niger between Boussa and Rabba, over which the waters fall. Canoes cannot get over them when the river is at its highest, or at its lowest state; consequently people always travel by land, and get their goods carried from one place to another. Rogang was requested to send a man with us down the river, who might show us the various villages and tell us their names, but all were afraid of being taken to the sea; and as he had none acquainted with the various places whom he could command to do it, he regretted that he could not oblige us in this instance.

Encl. P. in Captain Trotter's Report.

The Egga people get their cotton from the opposite shore where a considerable quantity is grown. Rogang would like it much if the English would make an establishment on the opposite shore; but thinks Sumo Sariki should first be consulted, though he does not anticipate that Sumo Sariki would raise an objection even if it should be commenced without his previous consent.

Kakanda.

Kakanda is the name of a small district, comprising five or six towns, besides Buddu, which has hitherto been called Kakanda on the maps or charts. The same tribe or nation speaking the Kakanda language is called Shabi by the Egarra people; and by the Nufi people Kakanda. The Attah of Iddah became King of this district about four years ago, and receives an annual tribute from it of one horse. (This cannot mean that the Attah had only obtained the sovereignty of this district four years ago, but must refer to the present Attah's coming to the throne, since they stated that they had been in the habit of paying this tribute to the Attah "from the beginning of the world.") The Fulatahs had been in the town of Buddu only three months ago, but as they agreed to pay them an annual tribute of 100,000 cowries, of which Riggido, a village just opposite Buddu, pays a proportionate sum, the Fulatahs took no slaves and killed nobody. Every Fulatah was armed with a musket. They had plenty of swords, spears, bows and arrows, and a great number of horses. In case payment is not made, the Fulatahs pay themselves by capturing and carrying away as slaves whoever happens to fall first into their hands; and the towns can never enter into any agreement with them as regards the number or individuals that should be taken. The friends and relatives of those taken as slaves always endeavour to ransom them by purchase from the Fulatahs, and such cases of ransom deserve the notice of the English cruisers.

The Attah had faithfully published the law of the abolition of the Slave Trade at Buddu. They all admitted that Buddu had before been a great slave-market, but that they had given up selling any, since the King had made a law to that effect. They possess domestic slaves, but are not allowed to sell any of them, nor to purchase others for their own work.

The Buddu people grow no cotton, purchase all from the opposite shore, which is subject to the Fulatahs to a considerable extent in land.

The Kakanda people deny having ever practised human sacrifices. They confirmed the statement so often mentioned, that the dry season was the unhealthiest season of the year.

No. 53.

No. 53.

No. 53. Captain W. Allen's Report.

To the Right Hon. Lord STANLEY, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, a REPORT of PROCEEDINGS from Captain WILLIAM ALLEN, R.N., SECOND COMMISSIONER of the NIGER EXPEDITION.

My Lord, London, 5th February, 1843.

HAVING, in obedience to the commands of Her Majesty's Government, returned to England with the greater part of the survivors of the Niger Expedition, I have the honour to lay before your Lordship a report of my proceedings, as one of the Commissioners, in the execution of the instructions of my Lord John Russell, and to accompany that report by the minutes taken at our sittings, and by an abstract of my journal, to which I beg leave to refer for details.

The Expedition finally left England on the 12th of May, 1841. It consisted of Her Majesty's steam-vessels Albert, commanded by Captain H. D. Trotter, as First Commissioner; Wilberforce, commanded by myself, Second Commissioner; and Soudan, Commander Bird Allen, Third Commissioner; Mr. Cook, the Fourth Commissioner, was on board the Wilberforce.

The Soudan and a transport had sailed previously, and after touching at Madeira and Teneriffe, all the vessels assembled at St. Vincent's, one of the Cape Verde Islands, for the purpose of transhipping stores, &c., from the transport, and of cleansing the holds. We then proceeded to Sierra Leone and Cape Coast Castle, where we presented the letters addressed by Lord John Russell to the Governors of those places, from whom we received every assurance of co-operation and assistance, if required.

Our progress along the coast was much delayed by the want of sufficient coals, and by the consequent necessity of cutting wood, when the men were unavoidably exposed to the rains. This caused some sickness, which in the Wilberforce was chiefly confined to the black men, one of whom died of fever.

The vessels also, though well calculated for the river, proved to be deficient in power for sea navigation, and as, owing to their peculiar construction, they were slow under sail, we did not reach the river Nun, the principal outlet of the Niger, till the 10th of August. By this time our men had perfectly recovered in the Wilberforce.

The operations of taking in our last supply of stores, coals, and the cumbersome implements and furniture of the model farm, and of beaching the vessels, to replace the rudder tails, delayed us 10 days, so that it was the 20th of August before we commenced the ascent of the river.

The natives of the lower part of the Delta, we found much more savage than those we saw in the interior, owing, it is to be feared, to the demoralizing intercourse with civilized man in the inhuman traffic in their fellow countrymen; they consequently received us with suspicion, and some demonstration of hostility, which however was less apparent as we proceeded.

The Wilberforce having been ordered to explore a different channel, passed round a large island; and as I deemed it expedient to continue the voyage on Sunday, we reached King Obi's town before the Albert and Soudan.

Minute, No. 4, p. 140. This chief, on hearing that an officer of the former Expedition was on board the Wilberforce, paid me a visit, and with the assistance of Mr. Cook, the Fourth Commissioner, I explained generally the motives of our coming, referring him to the arrival of the other Commissioners for fuller details.

Minute, No. 4, pp. 141 to 144. Despatch, No. 8. On the 27th of August Captains Trotter and Bird Allen, together with Commissioner Cook and myself, held a conference with King Obi, on board the Albert, when the wishes of Her Majesty's Government were clearly explained to the Chief and his headmen. Obi repeatedly expressed his gratification and acquiescence in all our proposals for the abolition of the Slave Trade throughout his dominions; and, indeed, he acceded to everything so readily as to excite some suspicion of his sincerity, but, on the other hand, the desire he evinced to have further explanation on some points, argued much in his favour.

Treaty, No. 1. A Treaty for this object was satisfactorily concluded and signed on the following day, and as it was of importance to proceed with as little delay as possible, we took leave of the King of Ibu with every reason to be satisfied with our first efforts to carry out the instructions of Her Majesty's Government.

Minute, No. 4, p. 145. As no independent Chief intervened between Ibu and the King of Èggarah, we proceeded to Iddah, his capital town, where we arrived on the evening of the 3rd of September. The haughty manner in which this Chief affected to receive our messengers, and his apparent contempt for a small present we sent to pro-

pitiate him, gave rise to some apprehensions that we should not be so successful in our negociations here as at Ibu.

However, the Commissioners, accompanied by some of the officers and an escort, went on shore in due formality, and met with a most favourable reception. The Attàh entered with equal readiness into all our views, and his Commissioners signed for him a Treaty for the abolition of the Slave Trade in his dominions, with an Additional Article for the abolition of human sacrifices, a custom of which barbarous nature, we had reason to believe, obtained in his country; and also an Article for the cession of such a portion of territory, for the establishment of a model farm, as might be agreed on with his Commissioners, subject to the approval of Her Majesty.

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Minute, No. 4, p. 146.
Treaty, No. 2.
Treaty, No. 2, additional Article.
Despatches, No. 10 and 11.

The negociations having been brought to a termination more speedily than we had anticipated, we left our anchorage off Iddah on the 9th of September, and pushed on to the confluence of the Chadda with the Niger, which we reached two days.

Symptoms of fever had, however, previously manifested themselves in the three vessels, and they increased so rapidly that on the 18th of September, while at the confluence, one officer and four white men of the Albert, two men of the Wilberforce, and one of the Soudan having died, Captain Trotter, as senior officer of the Expedition, decided on sending the Soudan to the sea with the sick. As I believed that the removal of the sufferers would be attended with more danger than their remaining, in which opinion I was borne out by the surgeon of my ship, I only sent one officer and five men, who had expressed a belief that the change would be beneficial, and who therefore requested to be allowed to make the trial. All the others preferred to remain with the ship.

Despatch, No. 12.

My opinion at the meeting of the Commissioners, on the 18th of September,— that, in consequence of the great and increasing sickness and the advanced state of the season, I considered it to be expedient that the further prosecution of the objects of the Expedition should be postponed till the next season, and that the vessels should descend the river,—having been overruled, it was resolved that the Commission should be divided. The Wilberforce, with Mr. Cook and myself on board, was to explore the Chadda, while Captains Trotter and Bird Allen should go in the Albert up the Niger, in the hope of being able to reach Rabbah, which city is the strong hold of the Filatahs, who are the most active promoters of the Slave Trade in this part of Africa.

Minute, No. 7, p. 151.

These marauders have conquered all the neighbouring country, and have indeed no other means of existence than by their predatory incursions on all the surrounding nations, which they consider, on the authority of the Koran, as their slaves. It was therefore highly interesting and important to convince these people of the injustice of the practice, and to induce them to abandon it. As they have also extended their influence to Jakobah, on the banks of the Chadda, we had in the Wilberforce a similar task; and we hoped that by thus dividing the Commission, we should be enabled to accomplish the most important diplomatic points in our mission, within the short period that it was still possible for us to remain in the river.

Immediately, however, after the departure of the Soudan, the sickness increased to such an alarming extent, that when we were on the point of starting for our respective destinations, I thought it necessary, on the 19th of September, to call a special meeting of the Commissioners to reconsider the state of the Expedition. I then declared, from the experience I had had of the climate, from the advanced state of the season, the increasing sickness in the Wilberforce—and, as I understood, in the Albert also—from the difficulty and danger of having to remain in unhealihy parts of the river to cut wood, now that our fuel was nearly expended,—I felt it to be my duty,—as being the only person present who had any practical knowledge of the river,—to give as my opinion, that the state of the Expedition no longer warranted our perseverance in the prosecution of its objects.

Minute, No. 8, p. 152.

I also pointed out for the consideration of my colleagues, that should the sickness increase, as I was led to infer it would, both from present and past experience, the effect of appearing before the warlike Filatahs, in a state of prostration, would be highly prejudicial to the success of our mission.

Therefore, as the period had arrived which I had declared in England to be the most proper for leaving the river, I proposed that the Expedition should return to the sea without delay, in the hope of being able to carry out its purposes at a more favourable season, and with renewed strength.

Captain Bird Allen considering that by the removal of the sick of the Albert the efficiency of that vessel could still be calculated on, in which Captain Trotter con-

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curred—especially as she had more officers than the Wilberforce—proposed that the Albert should, as was decided at the last meeting, endeavour to reach Rabbah, but that the Wilberforce should return to Fernando Po, and, if necessary, to Ascension; this, after full discussion, was finally agreed to by the Commissioners.

On the 21st of September, when the Albert weighed to proceed towards Rabbah, the Wilberforce commenced her return to the mouth of the river, which was accomplished in four days and a half, and crossing the bar in safety, after having been obliged to remain four days to cut wood, she arrived at Fernando Po on the 1st of October, where my first care was to get the Soudan ready to send to the assistance of Captain Trotter. Very fortunately also Mr. Beecroft, in a merchant steamer, offered his services, and his exertions were, perhaps, the means of saving Her Majesty's ship Albert, as he met that vessel coming down the river in great distress.

Finding some fresh cases of fever had occurred, I hastened to leave Fernando Po, with every officer and nearly all my men in the sick list; and proceeded by short voyages, touching at the islands of Princes, St. Thomas and Anno Bono, to Ascension, which latter place I reached on the 17th of November. At each of those stations the beneficial effects of change of air on the invalids was immediately apparent, especially at the comparatively salubrious little island of Anno Bono, where I remained eight days, so that by the time I arrived at Ascension the officers and men were nearly all restored to health.

The whole loss by deaths from fever belonging to the Wilberforce amounted to six, that is to say, one officer and two men in the Niger, and three on the passage from the river to Anno Bono; besides one coloured man, who died of coast fever, before we entered the Niger. There had been previously two deaths by accident. Dr. Vogel, the Botanist, died of dysentery, at Fernando Po, having been taken ill there after leaving the Wilberforce, though resulting probably from the Niger fever. Besides myself—who had it but slightly—eight persons in the Wilberforce never had the fever, viz., Mr. Commissioner Cook, Lieutenant Strange, our three medical officers, and three men; and it is a curious fact, that of the remaining five surgeons in the Expedition, four died, and the fifth, Dr. McWilliam, had a severe attack after leaving the river.

I had thus reason to feel satisfied in having come to the decision not to allow my sick to be removed, as nearly all who remained on board recovered perfectly; and although none of my men died who left me at the confluence, the greater part remained invalids, even after their return to England, I had besides the gratification of keeping my ship's company together, and fit for a renewal of the service.

The ventilating apparatus did not answer all the purposes that were contemplated by its talented inventor, who was anxious to employ every means for averting the pernicious effects of the climate; as therefore the large iron chamber, intended for medicating the air, took up a great deal of valuable space, I landed it at Ascension: but I kept the rest of the apparatus, that is, the fanner, constantly at work, exhausting the foul air from all parts of the ship, and latterly, in occasionally diffusing *dried* air from the engine-room. I believe these applications of it to have been attended with very beneficial consequences.

At Ascension I used every dispatch in getting my vessel ready for sea; and though I could not accomplish it by the 1st of January, 1842, at which time I was ordered by Captain Trotter to return to the coast, I should have sailed on the 7th of that month; but two days previously Her Majesty's brigantine Buzzard arrived with the melancholy intelligence of the increased sickness in the Albert, and the deplorable condition in which that vessel returned to Fernando Po; of the departure of Captain Trotter for England, and of the sinister reports respecting the settlers at the model farm, and the superintendent Mr. Carr. As, however, I had received no official report from Commander Fishbourne, I remained at Ascension until the arrival of that officer in the Albert, when I consulted with Mr. Cook, my only remaining colleague, on the expediency of returning to the coast with a view of going up the Niger to the relief of the settlers. The reasons which prompted us to consider this step necessary—departing from the suggestion of Captain Trotter, that the vessels should wait at Ascension until the 1st of June for instructions from your Lordship or from the Admiralty,—we had the honour of submitting to you in our Despatch of the 12th of February, 1842, accompanied by the minutes of that consultation.

Minute, No. 10.

We therefore agreed that it was desirable we should enter the Niger as early as possible, for these purposes; but I considered that,—as the Commander of the naval part of the Expedition—the privilege rested with me alone, to decide on the proper time for navigating the river with safety to Her Majesty's vessels.

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It was my first intention to have entered it early in May, in order to meet as much possible the wishes of Mr. Cook, who proposed March as the proper time, which was also according to my original advice in England; but in deference to the opinion expressed by Captain Trotter, which was founded on information he had collected; and also as I had practical knowledge that the river does not begin to rise till the first week in June, I eventually fixed in my own mind upon that as the time when the Niger might best be navigated, with a reasonable certainty of safety to Her Majesty's vessels and the preservation of the health of the crews.

Soon, however, after our arrival at Fernando Po I read in the newspapers your Lordship's speech, which declared that it was not the intention of Her Majesty's Government again to attempt the navigation of the Niger with white crews.

I now deemed it to be my duty to wait for instructions from your Lordship, or from the Admiralty, in which I was strengthened by the advice of Captain Foote, the Senior Officer of the station, and especially since I was aware that the rumours of the danger to our settlers had already reached England.

In the mean time I directed Lieutenant Earle, of Her Majesty's brig Rapid, to ascertain if any credit could be attached to those rumours, on the spot where they were said to have originated.

On the return of that officer to Fernando Po, he reported to me that Mr. Hope the European agent in the river Formosa had assured him that no information had arrived there of any attack on the people at the model farm. The natives of the village at the mouth of the Nun also, positively denied the murder of Mr. Carr.

As the Wilberforce and Soudan were ready for sea on the 1st of May, I thought it advisable to cruize about, as the best means of securing the health of the crews; and I am happy to be able to add that, during nearly four months that we were on the coast, although on our first arrival there was a little sickness on board, I only lost one individual, an engineer, who had just arrived from England, and who died a fortnight after he joined the vessel, of his first fever.

In order to occupy the time in this necessary delay, profitably for Her Majesty's service, I made some surveys in the Bay of Amboises and the river Cameroons.

In a conversation with the two principal Chiefs, at the mouth of that river, I found that, although they had latterly fallen into disuse, human sacrifices were sanctioned by the custom of ancient times. I, therefore, in the absence of Mr. Cook, who preferred remaining at Fernando Po, took upon myself to make Treaties with those Chiefs for the abolition of their horrid rites. Duplicates of those Treaties I transmitted to your Lordship with my dispatch of the 19th of May, in which I detailed my proceedings, and gave an opinion of the superior advantages of those localities.

On my return to Fernando Po for the purpose of repeating the monthly magnetical observations, towards the end of June, I was led by several considerations to the determination no longer to postpone the carrying into effect the resolution of the 3rd of February, namely, to proceed up the Niger, and to communicate with the model farm. In the first place, as nearly five months had elapsed, which I thought ample time for an answer to have reached me, I presumed that your Lordship, satisfied with the reasons adduced in our minutes of that consultation, might not have intended to arrest our proceedings; and the knowledge that my Lords of the Admiralty had been pleased to promote me, tended to confirm this opinion. Lastly, as one month had already passed away of the best time for navigating the river, I feared that longer delay would bring us so near the time of our former disasters, that we should not be able to accomplish the objects I hoped to attain. I, therefore, hastened to complete the final preparations in the two vessels; and I may be allowed here to state to your Lordship, that my intentions were to proceed with all possible dispatch to the confluence of the two rivers, where, as the Soudan could not carry coals enough for further progress, I should have left Commander Ellis to arrange the affairs of the model farm, with orders to return at once, if necessary, to Fernando Po; while, as the Wilberforce would have entered the river with nearly 40 days coal, I should have proceeded with Mr. Cook in that vessel at once to Rabbah, conceiving it to be of paramount importance to gain over the influential King of the Filatahs to the wishes of Her Majesty's Government and the British nation. The negociations with the minor chiefs would then have been easy. I should afterwards, if time and health had permitted, have explored the Chadda, with a view as well of carrying out our instructions with the Chiefs on its banks, as of adding some knowledge of that, the larger river of the two, to geographical science.

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In these operations I should never have lost sight of the necessity of leaving the river in September at the latest; but if, after communicating with the model farm, sickness should have broken out, I had determined to return and abandon the enterprise as utterly hopeless.

For the execution of the plans I have mentioned to your Lordrhip I was fully prepared, and should have sailed on the evening of the 25th of June; but on the morning of the 24th, the long-looked-for instructions arrived in her Majesty's steam-vessel Kite, which, owing to a variety of adverse circumstances, had made an exceedingly long voyage, notwithstanding the zeal and activity of Commander Gooch.

On becoming acquainted with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government, I lost no time in dispatching the Wilberforce up the Niger with a limited number of officers, who had volunteered for the service. I intrusted the command to Lieut. Webb, my first lieutenant, with instructions for his guidance, a copy of which I enclosed to your Lordship in my letter of the 5th of September, 1842.

Having accompanied the Wilberforce to the mouth of the river, and having seen her safely cross the bar, I returned with the remaining officers and men of the Expedition to England, in obedience to your Lordship's directions, and happily arrived at Plymouth on the 2nd of September, 1842.

On a termination so different from what was fairly to be anticipated, from an Expedition, than which none was ever better equipped, your Lordship may possibly look for some remarks in this Report, on the causes of its failure, and which might lead to the solution of the problem, whether the Niger may be available as the channel of intercourse with the interior of Africa. Upon this very difficult subject, however, I can only beg leave to observe to your Lordship, that I must consider this solution to be as remote as ever, since our enterprize was thwarted by a concurrence of circumstances, most of which were beyond human control; and, although I must crave your Lordship's indulgence in abstaining from giving opinions as to the cause of failure generally, I cannot help adverting to the delay and encumbrance attendant on the establishment of the model farm, which I always considered—on such a scale at least—to be premature. While, however, I pronounce my belief that the experiment of penetrating by the Niger to the interior of Africa has not yet been fairly tried, your Lordship will readily understand that it does not thence necessarily follow, that I should now be prepared to advocate another similar attempt, because the question of another undertaking must be mixed up with various considerations of difficulty, which it is for the Government rather than for me to determine.

When, on the receipt of your Lordship's directions, I sent the Wilberforce up the river again in the beginning of July, I had great hopes that the question of the climate would be set at rest, as she entered at the most favourable time of the year, and I confidently expected that her limited number of white officers would have escaped sickness. The vessel, however, struck upon a rock; and whether the fevers which supervened were caused by tbe great exertions of the officers, as I am strongly inclined to believe, or would have occurred as a penalty inevitably attendant on tempting a climate so inimical to European constitutions, remains still hidden. I can only state that, during a whole year's residence on the Niger, I found the rainy season to be not only the most suitable for navigation, but it was very healthy; the only fevers we then had being intermittent, which are considered as preservative from those of a more dangerous kind. I will add, that when the Expedition entered the Niger in August, 1841, the season was premature in the rise, and extraordinary in the height of the flood, beyond what had been known by the natives for 19 years. So that, by the time we reached the confluence of the Niger and Chadda, the period had arrived which I had always pronounced to be—before we left England—as the most proper for leaving the river.

My Lord, the voice of vituperation has loudly charged the Expedition with total failure. This I may boldly say is not true; for although the lamentable loss of life which it had suffered, had the effect of preventing the accomplishment of all the objects for which it was equipped, the success, until our exertions were paralysed by sickness, was complete; since we were able to make satisfactory Treaties with two of the three most powerful chiefs that are known.

The nations on the banks of the river Niger, as far as my knowledge of it extends, viz., from the sea to Rabbah, nearly 500 miles, and I believe far beyond, are under the influence of only three powerful and independent Chiefs. First, Obi, king of Ibu, or Eboe; second, the king of Eggarah, whose capital is Iddah; and, third, the king of the Filatahs at Rabbah, who is in connexion with, if not dependent

on, the sultan of Sakatùh. With the two first of these Chiefs we succeeded in carrying out the views of Her Majesty's Government, by making Treaties for the suppression of the foreign slave trade; and although the facility with which we made those Treaties was chiefly attributable to the expectation of presents, and the prospect of future gain,—and although, also, the infraction of them may be expected, if left to themselves,—still the first grand step was gained; and I have no doubt but that if the climate had not opposed a barrier to frequent intercourse, those Treaties would have been mainly instrumental in putting an effectual stop to the traffic in slaves in the waters subject to those Chiefs. The principles of humanity, so new to them, which we expounded, were received with great satisfaction, and all classes earnestly desired the presence of British influence, as the surest means of ameliorating their condition, and of procuring a cessation of the wars which now desolate the country. Very small means, such as the occasional passage up and down the river of Her Majesty's steamers, would have been sufficient for this purpose.

But this appears to be impracticable, and if British legitimate commerce cannot be introduced to fill up the blank to be caused by the abandonment of the Slave Trade, it must be confessed that those Treaties will remain a dead letter.

The very short time we were in the river, and the anxious occupation of my time, precluded the possibility of collecting much information on the several subjects pointed out by my Lord John Russell. I trust, therefore, my Lord, that you will permit me to combine the scanty result of my inquiries on the present occasion, with what I was able to glean in 1832; when, from a much longer sojourn in Africa, I had better opportunities of collecting information, but by which, unfortunately, owing to my almost continual sickness, I was—even then—able to profit but very little.

On the important subject of slavery, which ought, and would have claimed our greatest attention, I regret to state these circumstances deprived me of opportunities of adding much to what was already known. Domestic and predial slavery, I have reason to believe, from my present and former experience, obtains all over that portion of the interior of Africa with which I have had any acquaintance. Domestic service, the transactions of commerce, and the labours of the field, are all performed by slaves. Their exertions, however, are but lightly taxed, and their treatment is in general so mild, that slavery is not even considered to be a degradation; the highest offices being frequently filled by slaves, as I found at Iddah, at Fandah, and at Rabbah; especially at the latter city, where the Baba-n durki, or "Master of the Horse" to the king of the Filatahs, was a Yàribah slave, and the general even of the Filatahs was a slave who had deserted from the Bornù army in battle.

In a country where the wants of the inhabitants generally, and even of the rich, are so few, and so easily supplied, there is no inducement to the exaction of hard labour, especially since the master participates in the natural indolence of the servant, and between whom there is generally a strong attachment. So that, except for great crimes, among which, frequent attempts to run away in recently made slaves, is the most commonly visited with such a punishment, it is rare, that domestic slaves are sold for exportation; except also in seasons of scarcity, and in cases of adultery, which last is one of the most fertile sources of the supply of slaves, next to that of war. Laxity of morals induces frequently a connivance on the part of the husband in the arts of his wife; whereby the unwary paramour is either reduced to slavery himself, or is obliged to find a substitute, which he frequently does by entrapping his neighbour. Thus a handsome wife is considered as a sure source of wealth; and demoralization, mutual aggressions and feuds, increase to a frightful extent. These causes have doubtless, from time immemorial, induced a system of slave-catching in parties, between neighbouring villages, and petty wars between rival Chiefs, of the numerous nations into which the country is divided. These were sufficient in former times to supply the demands of the foreign market; but towards the end of the last century, a portion of the Fulah, Filani, or Filatah nation, who had wandered to the districts near the Niger, and who had till that period been a harmless pastoral tribe, having been much oppressed by the native princes, threw off the yoke; and under the command of the Malem Danfodio, and after him under Dendo and Bello, his lieutenants, became in their turn the oppressors and even the conquerors of many of the nations in the heart of Sudàn: and instigated by the Arabs, their friends and teachers in the Mahomedan religion, and sanctioned by the injunctions of their prophet, they are yearly extend-

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ing their conquests on all the surrounding people, who offer but little resistance and are among the principal sources whence the countless multitudes are torn to supply the inordinate demands of more recent times: and whether the fearful height to which the exportation of human beings to meet this demand, be the cause or the consequence of these wars, the result is wide-spread desolation.

I formerly thought that the Niger was the high road by which the greatest part of these hapless beings were transmitted to their destination. But I have since had reason to believe, that the victims of the depredations of the Filatahs in the eastern countries, are sent in Kàfilahs, or caravans, overland from the large market at Okari, near the Chadda, to old Calebar; or from Doma and Bishi to Iddah, and thence to Bonny; and that the captives taken in the wars with the western nations, are conveyed in the same way through Yàrriba to the slave ports in the Bight of Benin. I am however certain, that until the aggressions and predatory habits of the Filatahs shall be repressed by force or persuasion, as I expressed in my letter to the Admiralty of the 1st of October, 1834, on my return from the former Expedition, there will be no peace for that part of Africa to which I have alluded.

To say precisely what are the ideas of religion entertained by those nations who are without the increasing pale of Mahomedanism, would be impossible. They are pagans, but have very ill-defined notions on the subject. Fetichism everywhere prevails, and the belief seems universal, that stocks and stones, and reptiles,—fanciful or disgusting objects of animate or inanimate nature, are deputed by good and evil spirits, to care for or mar the welfare of man.

They have unbounded faith in the efficacy of charms,—Màgoni,—which they believe can "call up spirits from the vasty deep;" and some persons pretend to have the power of transporting themselves to any place, or transforming themselves to any shape they please; or of dispensing to others exemption from the danger of all hurtful things, and from the common evils of humanity. There is, indeed, nothing too extravagant to find credence among the poor untutored natives.

Mahomedanism has made very rapid strides in this part of Negroland since the last century; and if the Filatahs continue their victorious career, they will easily engraft the religion of the Koran on the vague creed of the pagans, who, however, while they will readily adopt that of their conquerors, will still cling to the superstitions of their fathers; which even the Filatahs themselves mingle with the imperfectly understood doctrines of the Prophet.

The outposts have made considerable advance in preparing the way for a general conversion, since the Malems, or learned men, who generally have no other claim to the title than the ability to mumble a few prayers or passages from the Koran, are much venerated everywhere; their advice is taken on all occasions, and they already lead the minds of the princes and of the people. It might be supposed that this pliability would render the diffusion of Christianity very easy; but it is to be feared that it would rather be an obstacle to a sincere conversion. As all that is required from the Mahomedan proselytes consists of a few outward observances, they are all adopted without any exertion of the mind; but it will be more difficult to make them comprehend the mild morality and pure doctrines of our most holy religion.

As one of the proposed objects of the Expedition was to carry into the heart of Africa the benefits of civilization, it implied the supposition that her sons were savage or uncivilized; this, however, I aver is very far from being borne out by my experience on the present and former occasions. The people which I have met with in the interior, generally, are not only civil but very polite one to another; "greetings in the market-place" last till both parties must be heartily tired of the repetitions, though neither is willing to be the first to leave off. In the higher classes, Lobo, the chief judge at Iddah, attracted the notice of us all by his gentlemanly behaviour; and on my first visit to Rabbah, the Sàliki-Filani, or King of the Filatahs, was one of the most courtly men I had ever seen.

The arts of life, in a high state of perfection, are neither practised nor required, but commerce is widely extended. Every town has a market on the fourth day, and there are large marts, at which neighbouring nations meet to interchange their commodities and produce, about once every fortnight. Among the principal obstacles to a commerce profitable to Europeans, will be found the dilatoriness of the traders, the royal monopolies, the very small quantity at present of exportable articles, the limited demands for imports, the want of a currency in lieu of the cumbersome cowry medium, &c.

The form of government is, I believe, generally monarchical. In some cases

hereditary, in some elective. But the degree of power appears always to be dependent on wealth, which consists chiefly in the number of wives and slaves. Despotism is, in most cases, checked by the influence of the headmen of towns or villages, who have their power on the same tenure.

I had the following account of the power of the king of Ibu, or Abòh, from Ukasa, one of his relatives. It is, however, at variance with what the king asserted respecting his privileges. Ukasa told me, that the sovereignty is elective, and is vested in a council of sixty elders, or chiefs of large villages, who choose an adult, and great attention is paid to the qualifications of the candidate; among which humility to themselves was stated to be important. When a king makes himself obnoxious to the elders he is secretly poisoned by them. The king has power of life and death, only by consent of the council. In opposition to this statement, Obi frequently declared that he was absolute. He asked, "Are there two kings in your country? Here there is but one." He said his eldest son would succeed, and his—Obi's—commands would be obeyed after his death. This was confirmed by all the headmen present. Adultery with the king's wives is punished with death to both parties. One instance was mentioned in which the witnesses were also killed. In other cases the offending party is fined a slave.

This chief's designation is Ezzeh Obi Ossaï; the first being his title, the second his patronymic, and the third his cognomen. His territory extends as far up the river as the market Oniâh; and downwards to a town of the same name, near the Benìn branch. On the left bank his highest town is Akra-atàn, near the Onechàh river. The name of his principal town is Abòh. I believe his territory extends but a very short distance from the banks of the river.

Ibu, or Eboe, is the name of a large tract of country extending to the eastward, and containing, probably, many independent tribes. Anno is the chief place of worship. It is a very large town on the banks of the river Inno, which passes through a rocky country. Higher up, where the water is clear and very rapid, it is called Abàïn-him—"the meeting of the waters." It is about three days from Bonny. Canoes go from Abòh to Anno by way of Andoki. The only traffic—according to our interpreter, Simon Jonas, who was a native of that country—is in slaves.

Although Obi has only two large canoes in use, he is said to possess in all fifteen, with each a small cannon lashed in the bow; they have from 20 to 50 paddlers; and the largest can carry 20 fighting men. Besides these, there are at Abòh about ten headmen who have each from two to six war canoes. When the king intends to make a "great war," he sends to all the towns and villages under his influence, which furnish, some one, some four canoes each. He appoints a chief from Abòh to command them. On an extraordinary occasion he can muster about 300 canoes, armed with swivels and muskets. In peaceable times the large canoes are employed trading between the Brass and Bonny people,—who come to Abòh from the coast,—and the natives of Èggarah, or Iddah, who meet them at a market called Oniàh, erroneously named Kiree by Mr. Lander; which latter, or, more properly, Kiri, or Ikiri, is the name of the market to which the Èggarah people resort, about 25 miles below the confluence. This was called by Lander Bokwèh, which, however, is the name of a town on the neighbouring bank. The natives of the interior meet the Èggarah people at Kiri. Thus the traders carry on their traffic on the frontiers, and never pass out of their respective countries, except in kàfilahs. This practice, I believe, obtains over great part of Africa, and may account for the difficulty travellers have invariably found in crossing the country, and for their apparently unjust detention.

The Attàh of Èggarah appears to be a powerful chief, claiming superiority over several on both banks of the Niger and on the Chadda. The native name of the former river is Ujìmmini Fufu, or White Water; and of the latter, Ujìmmini Dudu, Black or Dark Water. The first being always turbid, and the other clear. I obtained from a Malem the names of towns which he had visited, to the distance of eight days up the Chadda. At that part there are also two rivers—a black and a white water. The former, from the Malem's account, I believe to come from the great lake Chad.

I can say nothing about the laws, but that there are no written codes among the Pagans. The existence, however, of commonly established forms and usages may be inferred from the fact that there are judges. I may also add, that at the city of Fandah I had an opportunity of witnessing the exercise of justice; where the King, with all his assembled headmen, listened with great patience to a long

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defence of the prisoners, and delivered his sentence in a speech apparently of some eloquence.

The advent of the Expedition, and the explanation of our views, were hailed as the harbingers of peace, and the white man was looked to as the redresser of the wrongs and injuries he had inflicted. If, therefore, the paralysing effect of the climate on European constitutions had not checked us in the moment when success seemed to crown our exertions, much good might have been expected to result from the course which was prescribed for us, by the beneficent intentions of Her Majesty, and by the instructions of Her Government. But I much doubt whether a mere exposition of the principles of pure philanthropy would have attained the desired end, without the exhibition of the strong arm of power, to prevent the aggressions of the Filatahs, who are the principal disturbers of the peace of that part of Africa. The natives themselves were fully confident that the mere presence of a small force would be sufficient, as they entreated us to remain in 1833 in the little vessel Alburkah; and the chief men at Egga agreed to furnish us with money and provisions to any amount, if we would undertake to "clean the road" of the Filatahs. They even engaged that to attain this desirable end, all the towns and villages would gladly contribute according to their means. We had, however, then, as on the present occasion, suffered so much from the effect of the climate, as to preclude the possibility of acceding to their wishes.

With a boundless scope for exertion in so many interesting and important points, and where such favourable circumstances presented themselves, in the dispositions of the natives and the means of access by a noble river, it is much to be deplored that the single obstacle of the climate should have thwarted all the great efforts which have been made for the benefit of Africa. The lamentable loss of life, however, which has attended the several attempts to penetrate to the interior, seems to banish all hope that European influence can ever be so permanently established there, as to be the means of repressing the disorders produced by the great demand for slaves; or to erect legitimate commerce on a solid foundation.

The only chance of success will probably be in the employment of native agency; but, on this subject, I think it my duty to remark, that even natives, who have been long absent, do not appear to be exempt from the baneful effects of the climate, since the first fevers were chiefly confined to the coloured men of the Expedition; and in the Wilberforce there were two negroes—one being a native of Haussa and the other of the Gambia—who suffered nearly as much as the white men; the latter, indeed, was so shaken by his long illness, that he requested to be allowed to leave the Expedition, from a fear of the climate of the Niger. It is true, however, that both of these men had been many years away from Africa.

It would therefore appear, that even the natives are susceptible of the effects of the climate, on their return after a long absence; though it is probable that their *seasoning* fevers would be attended with less risk than to white men, and that they would sooner recover.

My Lord, I cannot close this Report without begging leave to call your Lordship's attention to the zeal displayed by the officers under my command; and to their readiness—though nearly all had suffered severely from sickness—again to have gone with me up the Niger. I would especially point out Lieutenant Webb, and the officers who volunteered with him, to go to the relief of the settlers we had left in the interior, and I will venture to hope that the manner in which Lieutenant Webb has performed the difficult service entrusted to him will have merited your Lordship's approbation; and that you may be induced to recommend him to the favourable consideration of my Lords of the Admiralty. I would also most respectfully repeat the recommendation in my letter of the 18th of November, in favour of Mr. James Erskine Terry, chief clerk to the Commissioners, who, after having suffered severely in the Expedition, in which he performed his duties to my satisfaction, is now thrown out of employment, and is one of the few who have received no reward for their arduous services.

I have, &c.

WILLIAM ALLEN,

Captain R. N. and late Commissioner.

The Right Hon. Lord Stanley,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 54.

MINUTES of the PROCEEDINGS of the COMMISSIONERS of the NIGER EXPEDITION, 1841-2.

Minutes of Commissioners' Proceedings.

No. 1.

Island of St. Vincent, Cape de Verds, 5th June, 1841.

Her Majesty's Commissioners of the Niger Expedition met on board the Albert, this day.

Present:—

Captain Henry Dundas Trotter,	Commander Bird Allen,
Commander William Allen,	William Cook, Esq.

Her Majesty's Commission was read, after which it was resolved that every meeting of the Commissioners for the despatch of business should be opened with prayer.

Prayers were accordingly commenced by the Rev. Mr. Müller, Chaplain to the Commissioners.

Despatch No. 5, from Lord John Russell, was then read, approving of the appointment of Mr. Bowden, as Secretary; of the Rev. Theodore Müller, as Chaplain; and of Dr. J. O. McWilliam, as Surgeon to the Commissioners.

Read Despatch No. 1, containing Instructions to the Commissioners from Lord John Russell, dated the 30th January, 1841.

Despatch No. 2, of the same date, from his Lordship, was then read, together with its Enclosures, on the subject of Sovereignty.

Ordered, that an attested copy of Her Majesty's Commission, and copies of other documents from the Colonial Office, be furnished to each of the Commissioners.

Read Despatch No. 9 from Lord John Russell to Captain Trotter, dated the 10th of April, 1841, and referring to that part of it which related to touching at Sierra Leone, it was deemed sufficient that one of the Commissioners only should repair there for the purpose of selecting interpreters: Captain Trotter being of opinion that it was not necessary for all the steam-vessels to go there to embark the Krooman and bring away the vessel which has been purchased for the use of the Expedition.

Confirmed, this 14th day of June, 1841.

H. D. TROTTER.

No. 2.

Island of St. Vincent, Cape de Verds, 14th June, 1841.

The Commissioners met on board the Albert this day.

Present:—

Captain Henry Dundas Trotter,	Commander Bird Allen,
Commander William Allen,	William Cook, Esq.

Read the minutes of the last meeting: Resolved that the minutes of the preceding meeting, as well as those of all meetings that may be held hereafter, shall be signed by the senior Commissioner present at the time of reading the same.

Despatches Nos. 3, 4, 7, 8 and 10, with their Enclosures, from Lord John Russell to the Commissioners were then read.

Resolved, that the Commissioner who should first arrive at Sierra Leone should communicate with Mr. Schön on the subject of the interpreters to be embarked at that place. Commander William Allen suggested that they be selected from among the people belonging to the following nations as likely to be the most useful.

Ibu,	Filatah,
Shabbi, or Attàh, or Idda,	Mandingo,
Kakanda,	Bornù,
Nufi,	Bagermi,
Yàrriba,	Aku,
Haussa,	Katunga,
	Jakobah.

It was decided that a copy of the minutes of the proceedings at the meetings of the Commissioners should be made out and delivered to the Second Commissioner.

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Resolved, that the Commissioner first arriving at Sierra Leone or Cape Coast Castle should open any Despatches addressed to the Commissioners.

Confirmed, this 13th day of August, 1841.

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER.

No. 3.

Mouth of the river Nun, 18th August, 1841.

The Commissioners met on board the Albert this day.

Present :—

Captain Henry Dundas Trotter,	Commander Bird Allen,
Commander William Allen,	William Cook, Esq.

The meeting was opened by prayer. Captain Trotter then stated that messengers had arrived with a present from King Boy at Brasstown, announcing the intention of that Chief to visit the Expedition as soon as he had finished the Fetìsh he was making.

Captain Trotter proposed that a small present should be sent in return to King Boy, as per list No. 1 in the Appendix, and that it would be well to consider whether spirits should be sent as a present to a Chief at any time.

The Commissioners considered it was desirable to cultivate the friendship of King Boy, who has complete command over this part of the Delta and the Brass rivers to the eastward, consequently great power in forwarding or impeding any communications from the interior to the Creek. That a small present, as per list No. 1 in the Appendix, should be forwarded to him by the messengers, but that spirits should never be sent when it could be avoided.

Confirmed, this 3d day of September, 1841.

(Signed) H. D. TROTTER.

No. 4.

Iddah, 3d September, 1841.

The Commissioners met on board the Albert this day.

Present :—

Captain Henry Dundas Trotter,	Commander Bird Allen,
Commander William Allen,	William Cook, Esq.

The meeting was opened by prayer.

A question arose whether the Articles in the proposed Treaty respecting the exercise and teaching of the Christian religion should be insisted on. The Commissioners decided in the affirmative.

The Secretary gave in minutes of the proceedings of the Commissioners in their conferences with King Obi on the 26th, 27th, and 28th ultimo, which were read and ordered to be recorded.

The Commissioners then adjourned the meeting until the evening.

Interview at Abòh (Ebo or Ibu) on the 26th of August, 1841, *between King Obi, Osaï of Abòh, and Commander William Allen and William Cook, Esq., Commissioners, previous to the arrival of the Albert and Soudan.*

The Wilberforce arrived at Abòh on the evening of the 25th of August, and on the following morning Commander William Allen sent a message to the King. The messenger was met by Prince Ajeh, and they both proceeded to Abòh. King Obi promptly accepted the invitation to visit the Wilberforce, and went on board, when Commander Allen and Commissioner Cook, thinking it of importance to save time, as the other Commissioners had not arrived, stated to the King the general object of the mission.

King Obi was seated in a chair in the cabin, and after satisfying his curiosity and examining everything around him, Captain Allen proceeded to explain the objects of the Expedition. King Obi listened attentively to the interpreter, and answered that he understood very well and snapped his fingers thrice in token of approbation.

Captain Allen explained to King Obi that the Wilberforce was not a trade ship, but a Queen's ship, and if Obi was willing to make a treaty with the Captains whom the Queen has sent up the river to negociate with him, let him name the articles

he thinks the fittest for exchange, and trade vessels will then come up the river to him.

Captain *Allen*.—What produce can Obi give in exchange for English goods.

Interpreter.—The King says, he is willing to trade in palm oil, ivory, and slaves.

Captain *Allen*.—The English are averse to the slave trade: they do not like men who sell and purchase one another: let Obi cultivate things that will not grow in England, and English trade-ships will bring produce that is foreign to Africa.

Mr. *Cook*, Commissioner.—We wish to do away with the slave trade, which is unnatural and against the law of God: we wish you to learn our books and principles, which are those of an enlightened nation.

Interpreter.—King Obi promises to give up the traffic in slaves. (Here Obi again snapped his fingers).

Captain *Allen*.—Let him do so, and he shall be our good friend, and our Queen will not allow him to suffer, if he carries his good intentions into execution.

Interpreter.—The King says, now that he hears the truth from you, he will no longer trade in slaves.

Captain *Allen*.—I cannot make the Treaty now with you, as I am alone, but our Queen has sent four gentlemen to you to make such Treaty, when we are all assembled we will then negociate.

King Obi enquired if the other ships could find their way up the river. When Captain Allen said "yes," he seemed astonished, as they had never been up before, but Captain Allen assured him that it was easy for the white men to do so, and that it would become as easy to the blacks by learning.

Mr. Commissioner Cook remarked, that although our skins were white, there was no innate virtue in them: that all the knowledge we possessed was derived from God, and that God was willing to communicate the same to black men; and that the great object of our coming here was to instruct them in all we knew, if they would but attend to our instructions. After a short pause, Mr. Cook said, that by selling his subjects Obi impoverished himself, but that by keeping them at home, and cultivating the land, he and they would become rich and happy; that it is both cruel and unjust to separate children from parents, and parents from children, all which would in future be avoided, by abolishing the slave trade.

Captain *W. Allen*.—When a man is sold, the goods received for that man are soon expended, but by keeping him constantly employed in cultivating the earth that man's labour, in time, would be of great and durable value.

Obi smiled and said, through the Interpreter, it was true. He then held a consultation with his Chiefs, and asked whether the ships had brought up any trade goods.

Captain *Allen*.—The Queen's ships never carry trade goods, but the Queen has sent a handsome present to King Obi should he consent to agree to the Articles of the Treaty, which will be laid before him for consideration.

Obi laughed and snapped his fingers, when this was translated to him.

Captain Allen then spoke of the prejudices of the blacks against white men; some of the latter were indeed to be feared, but they were not Englishmen: they were Spaniards, who purchased slaves and took them away from this country, but they were generally stopped by the numerous English cruizers and liberated, which the Interpreter said was the case with himself.

Obi seemed much pleased with the interpretation, and half rising from his seat, stretched out his hand to Captain Allen. He was now getting tired of the conversation, and wished to go, but was kept back by the appearance of wine, biscuits, and raisins. He was greatly astonished when he was told that the wine he was drinking was made from the juice of the grape, and that raisins were the dried grapes. He showed himself partial to all.

He was then shown the portraits of the Queen and Prince Albert, at which he expressed pleasure. After examining the contents of the cabin he desired to see the other parts of the vessel, and arose. His attendants showed him great respect.

The visit of King Obi to the Albert.

Ajèh, King Obi's second son, came on board the Albert on the 26th of August, and informed Captain Trotter that King Obi would visit him on the following day.

The Commissioners having met, decided on the articles which should be given to Obi as presents, provided he should enter into a Treaty for the suppression of the slave trade.

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King Obi accordiagly came on board the Albert on the 27th of August, in a canoe, paddled by twenty-six people. He was dressed in an English officer's uniform, and wore the pair of scarlet Turkish trowsers which had been given to him by Mr. Lander. He was received at the gangway by the Commissioners, and ushered aft on the quarter-deck, where seats had been arranged for the conference.

Conference.

King Obi stated that he had brought a present, consisting of two oxen, two sheep, and 250 yams, for which he was thanked, and the present, mentioned in list No. 2 in the Appendix, was given to him in return.

Captain Trotter then explained to Obi that Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain had sent him and the three gentlemen present to enter into Treaties with African Chiefs for the abolition of the slave trade, which was held in abhorrence by Her Majesty and the whole British people. That the ships now at Abòh were Queen's ships, and not trading ships, and were sent expressly and at great cost with Commissioners authorized to enter into Treaties on the part of Her Majesty, with African Chiefs for the above-mentioned purpose.

Obi replied, through the interpreter, that he understood what was said, and appeared to be very well pleased.

Captain Trotter explained to King Obi how much more it would be to his advantage to employ his people to collect palm oil, ivory, gums, camwood, &c., and to cultivate the land, than it would be to sell them as slaves and thereby lose their services for ever.

Obi replied, through the Interpreter, that he understood what was said to him, and was willing to do away with the slave trade.

The following conversation and remarks then ensued, in explainining the articles in the proposed Treaty :—

Captain *Trotter*.—Does Obi sell his own people as slaves ?

Obi.—No, the slaves are bought far away.

Captain *Trotter*.—Does Obi make war to get slaves ?

Obi.—When they have a quarrel, not otherwise.

Captain *Trotter*.—What articles would Obi like to be brought for trade ?

Obi.—Cowries, cloth, muskets, powder, handkerchiefs, coral beads, whatever is brought will please.

Commander *W. Allen*.—You are a King. Our Queen does not trade, she wants our people to trade with your people—what do they prefer ?

Obi.—Every article—hats.

Captain *Trotter*.—Would they buy salt ?

Obi.—Yes.

Captain *Trotter*.—The Queen's subjects would be glad to trade for cotton, indigo, ivory, gums, camwood, &c. What have you to give in return for English trade goods ?

Obi.—Camwood, ivory, indigo, palm oil.

Captain *Trotter*.—Englishmen bring everything for trade—but rum is bad.

Captain *Trotter*.—If you cultivate the ground you will become rich, if you sell laves, the country is not cultivated and you become poor.

Captain *Trotter*.—When you do away with the slave trade, and employ your people in cultivating the ground to raise cotton and other things, in cutting down timber, gathering palm oil, &c. the Queen says, you shall have one out of every twenty articles sold from British ships at the Abòh country, so that the more you get to sell for British goods, the richer you will become.

Captain *Allen*.—By so doing, you (Obi) can exact so much, otherwise you cannot you cannot force every ship to make you a dash (present), but by this Treaty you will get a regular profit.

Obi agrees to drop the slave trade, but he expects the English to bring goods.

Captain *Trotter*—The Queen's subjects will not come to trade unless they are certain of a supply.

Obi.—I have always plenty of oil.

Captain *Trotter*.—Mr. Schön, a missionary, will explain to Obi in his own language what the Queen wishes. If Obi does not understand it, it shall be repeated to him.

Mr. *Schön* read the address to the African people, when

Obi said, rather impatiently, I have promised to drop it, and do not wish to hear any more about the Slave Trade.

Captain *Trotter*.—The Queen wishes you to drop it, and if you do, she will be very much pleased, and you will receive the presents which she has sent you.

Commander *W. Allen*.—When people of England sign a treaty or agreement they always abide by it. The Qneen cannot come to speak to Obi but she sends us.

Obi can only engage his word for his own country.

Commander *B. Allen*.—Obi cannot sell his slaves. Our Queen has many war ships at the mouth of the river, and Spaniards are afraid to come to buy there.

Obi said he understood, and laughed.

The *Interpreter* explained to Obi, that he was once a slave, and the manner in which he became free.

Commander *W. Allen*.—Wicked white men come and buy slaves, not to eat them, but to make them work, by flogging and ill-treating them. The English Queen does not like that.

Obi believes every thing that is said to him, and once more consents to give up the trade.

Some presents were brought forward, and Obi seemed too much attracted by them to attend to anything else.

Commander *B. Allen*.—These are not all the presents that will be given to you.

Commander *B. Allen*.—Will Obi be willing to stop boats carrying slaves through his waters?

Obi is very willing, except those he cannot see.

Commander *B. Allen*.—Also to stop slaves being carried over his land.

Obi.—Certainly. But the English must furnish him with arms, as his doing so, would involve him in a war with his neighbours.

A conversation then ensued between the Commissioners, when Obi retired for a few minutes; on his return,

Commander B. Allen asked him if he had the power to make an agreement with the Commissioners in the name of all his people.

Obi.—I am the King—what I say, is law—are there two kings in England? there is only one here.

Commander *B. Allen*.—Understanding that Obi has sovereign power, can he seize slaves on the river?

Obi.—Yes.

Commander *B. Allen*.—He must set them free.

Obi.—Yes.

Commander *B. Allen*.—The boats must be destroyed.

Obi will kill no one, but break the canoes.

Captain *Trotter*.—Suppose a man-of-war takes a slave canoe, and it is proved to be a slaver, the officer's word must be taken by King.

Commander *B. Allen*.—Obi, or some one for him, can be present at the trial to see justice done.

Obi understands.

Captain *Trotter*.—Any new men coming henceforth to Abòh, are not to be made slaves.

Obi.—Very good.

Captain *Trotter*.—If any king or other persons send down slaves, Obi must not buy them.

Obi will not go to market to sell slaves.

Captain *Trotter*.—Any white men that is enslaved is to be made free.

The Commissioners instanced the case of Lander, asking Obi if he did not recollect the circumstance of his being detained as a slave.

Obi and his sons positively denied the knowledge of it.

Captain *B. Allen*.—British people that sit down in Abòh must be treated as friends, in the same way as his subjects would be if they settled in England.

Obi replied, What you say to me I will hold fast and perform.

Captain *Trotter*.—People may come here and follow their own religion without annoyance. Our countrymen will be happy to teach our religion, without which we should not be what we are.

Obi.—Yes, let them come, we shall be glad to hear them.

Captain *Trotter*.—British people and his people may trade where they choose but whenever it may be in Abòh, one-twentieth of the goods sold is to be given to the King. Is he pleased with this?

Captain *Trotter*.—Is there any road open from his dominions to Benin?

Obi.—Yes.

Captain *Trotter.*—They must all be open to the English.

Obi.—Yes.

Commander *W. Allen.*—All the roads in England are alike open to your subjects.

Obi.—In this way of trade Obi is agreeable.

Captain *Trotter.*—Will Obi let the English build, cultivate, buy and sell without annoyance.

Obi.—Certainly.

Captain *Trotter.*—If his people do wrong to them, will he punish them?

Obi.—Let them be judged and the guilty punished.

Captain *Trotter.*—When the English do wrong, he must send word to English officer, who will come and have palaver. He must not punish white people.

Obi agreed to this, but was getting tired.

Captain *Trotter.*—If Obi's people contract debts with the English they must be made to pay them.

Obi said, they should be punished if they did not.

Captain *Trotter.*—The Queen may send an agent?

Obi.—If any Englishman come to reside, he will show him the best place to build house, &c.

Obi said, that he had already sent two persons in the Quorra, but never saw them safterwards. How can he send his son, if those he has already sent have never been heard of?

Commissioners.—This shall be inquired into.

Commissioners.—Obi must give every facility for forwarding letters, &c., down the river, so that the English officer who receives them may give a receipt, and also so many bars for the King.

Obi understands.

Captain *Trotter.*—Has he any opportunity of sending to Bonny?

Obi has some misunderstanding with the people between Abòh and the Bonny, but he can do it through the Brass people.

Commissioners.—Will he agree to supply men-of-war with fire-wood, provisions, &c. at a reasonable and fair price.

Obi.—Yes, certainly.

The Commissioners (to Mr. Schön, Missionary.)—Tell Obi, in a concise manner, the difference between the Christian and heathen religion, and the advantages of the former, illustrating it with reference to the white and black residents at Sierra Leone,

Mr. *Schön.*—There is only one God.

Obi had heard there were two.

Mr. *Schön.*—God has appointed one day in seven to be kept holy.

Children are to love and obey their parents.

No person shall commit murder.

No person shall commit adultery.

No person shall steal.

No person shall bear false witness.

No person shall long for his neighbour's goods.

Is not this a very good religion?

Obi said, Yes, very good.

Commissioners.—Do they sacrifice human beings in the Abòh country?

Obi.—They sacrifice no human beings, only animals.

Commissioners.—When a woman has twins, does she kill them?

Obi.—Never heard of such a thing.

Commissioners.—Would he like to have a Christian to teach him?

Obi.—Yes.

Commissioners.—Will the king make a law that no human sacrifice shall be made, no murder committed, that the Treaty be not broken in any way.

Obi.—Where he has the power, the law shall be put in execution.

Commissioners.—If the Queen make Treaty with Obi, and he should die, will the King who succeeds him abide by the Treaty.

Obi said, They will do as I command. I wish the palaver to be settled, as I do not like so much talking.

The conference ended here, and Obi having promised to come off early in the morning to ratify the agreement, went on shore.

In regard to the question of human sacrifices, it may be added, that while Obi disclaimed the existence of such a practice, he distinctly said, that it should never be allowed to take place in his dominions.

When Obi exhibited any eagerness for trade, he was always told that the English had plenty of things wherewith to supply him, but they could not afford to bring them up the river, unless with the certainty of receiving articles in exchange, and that the increase of trade would depend upon the exertions of himself and people.

Albert, off Abòh, 28th August, 1841.

The Commissioners assembled together on board the Albert this day at seven o'clock, at which time King Obi came on board accompanied by his eldest son, two of his brothers, seven of his children, and a few headmen.

Obi breakfasted with Captain Trotter, and declined to give any information as to the manner in which the Slave Trade had been carried on, saying that slave palaver was all over now.

The Treaty being prepared ready for signatures, Captain Trotter proposed that the blessing of Almighty God should be asked on this commencement of their labours. Captain Trotter then explained to Obi, through the interpreter, that the Rev. Mr. Müller, the chaplain, was going to pray that the blessing of God might be bestowed on both parties making the Treaty, and that he and his son, if they pleased, might join in prayer. After it was finished, Obi appeared agitated and wished to perform fetìsh (or charm) himself, but when Captain Trotter explained to him that we had not prayed to have any advantage over him, but that he and his people might be benefited through our instrumentality, he appeared to be more composed, and shook hands cordially with the Commissioners and gave up all idea of performing fetish.

The Commissioners then proceeded with Obi to the quarter-deck, where his head men were assembled, and explained again to him, in their presence, the meaning of each Article in the Treaty, to all of which he gave his assent; observing, however, that some of his people were absent, and did not know the law: was he in such case to seize their boats and punish them in case they brought slaves?

The Commissioners allowed him to the end of the present moon to make all his people to know the law. Obi then said, You must send ships to trade.

The Treaty was then signed by the Commissioners on the part of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, properly witnessed, and by Obi, the Chief of Abòh, witnessed by his eldest son and his two brothers.

Flags were displayed, and guns fired, and presents given to Obi and his head men, with which they were much pleased. (For list of presents, see Appendix No. .)

Sitting of the 3rd September, 1841, continued.

The meeting resumed their sitting.

Captain Trotter informed the Commissioners that he had despatched Dr. McWilliam, accompanied by Mr. Schön, the missionary, with a message to the King of Ègarrah, to the effect that there were Commissioners on board the British ships in the river, charged with a message to him from the Queen of Great Britain, and that they would be happy to see him on board the Albert to confer with them. Captain Trotter understanding it was customary to send a present by any one asking for a conference with the King, he had selected a few articles as mentioned in the list, No. , in the Appendix.

At this time, about 4 P.M., Dr. McWilliam and Mr. Schön, having returned on board, made the following report to the Commissioners:—

REPORT.

The Attàh being seated on his throne, attended by his judges, malams, and eunuchs, and many others, admitted us, Dr. McWilliam and Mr. Schön, to an audience.

We desired the interpreter to say to the King, that we came from the captain of the big ship, who had a message to him from the Queen of Great Britain, who hoped that the Attàh was well, and that Her Majesty was desirous to make friends with him and with all good black men: that the captain would be very glad if the King would come on board and receive the Queen's message from him. The interpreter also explained to the Attàh, that he himself was once a slave, taken

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when a boy from this very place, but that through the instrumentality of the British Queen he was now a free man, such as we were, and such as Her Majesty wished all men on earth to be. A small present, sent by the Commissioners, was now shown to him.

The King wished to know if we had said all,—if we had done speaking. He was answered, that for the present we had done.

The King then, through his mouth or speaker, said:—

"I am glad, and I thank God first to see white people near me. If the white people are glad to see me, they must hear what I say. The late King wished white people to come to his dominions, but he did not really want to see them. I am now the King, and white people have come to see me, and I am very glad to see them. If they wish to be friends for true with me, they must not be in a hurry, for I like my friends to eat and drink with me for several days. If a stranger comes to me, I wish him not to part without a proper and fair understanding. I wished not to come out in the rain, but the white men were resolved to see me, and I imagine from that, that they had the power to stop rain coming, but it now rains as much as ever. The river belongs to me a long way up and down on both sides, and I am King. The Queen of white men has sent a friend to see me. I have also just now seen a present, which is not worthy to be presented to me, it is only fit for a servant." The King looking at Mr. Schön's spectacles, expressed a desire to have a pair.

The King asked, whether he might send a messenger to the Queen of the white people.

Dr. *McWilliam*.—Most certainly. The Queen would be delighted to hear from the Attàh of Ègarrah, and to make trade with him.

Attàh said, You wish me to go on board of ship. A King in this country never goes on board ship. He never puts his foot into a canoe. When white people were here before, the King never went on board. If any one wishes to see me, he must come to me. If he wishes to speak privately, I will dismiss my people. If it be a public matter, then I will allow them to remain, but King never goes on board ship.

Dr. *McWilliam* replied, We are only messengers, and are not at liberty to say any thing more, and will convey what the King has said to the Captain, and feel assured that if a palaver was held with him, the King would be much more satisfied.

Attàh.—Very well. I will see no one, unless the chief man (Captain) comes. Good night. God bless you.

The Commissioners decided on having a conference on shore with the Attah, and the meeting adjourned.

Iddah, 4th September, 1841.

The Commissioners resumed their sitting, and arranged the lists of presents which were to be given to the King of Ègarrah, and the head men of Iddah.

In the afternoon the Commissioners went on shore, attended by the officers of the Albert, and a marine guard, a salute of five guns was fired on their leaving the ship, in order to hold a conference with the Attàh, or Chief of Ègarrah. The procession headed by a Tunmanee, (a black man) dressed as a sailor, bearing the union jack, proceeded onwards for nearly two miles, until they reached the residence of the Princess Ammada Bue, sister to the King, and a person of considerable influence. She despatched a messenger to the Attàh to announce the arrival of the Commissioners, and an opportunity was taken in the interim to speak to her of the Christian religion, and of the wish entertained to send missionaries and teachers, which she appeared glad to hear. She was aware of the absurdity of the fetish ceremonies, though as a woman she was afraid to give it up, on account of the loss of property which would follow. She acknowledged that human sacrifices took place on the death of a Sovereign, when it was customary to put to death the Chief's wife, and ten of his eunuchs and domestics. She caused goora nuts and country beer to be handed round, first tasting it herself to show no poison lurked beneath. On the return of the messenger from the King, the Commissioners arose, and proceeded onwards to his residence, through numerous huts with narrow door-ways, four feet by two feet. They at length reached an open court, where the judges, malams, and chief eunuchs soon assembled. The King's throne was placed at the head of the court, hidden from view, music sounded, the curtain dropped, and the Attàh was seen seated on his throne. He was dressed in a rich fantastic tobe, on which was hanging in front a large brass

breast-plate, with a raised figure of a human head like the representation of a full moon; in his ears were very large circular ivory ear-rings, and on his head a cap with feathers, over the ears.

The Attàh invited the Commissioners and officers to shake hands with him, which they did, repeating the word of salutation, Sinou.

Captain *Trotter*.—When the Attàh is ready to hear, I will deliver our message to him.

The *Attàh* replied, when strangers came to visit him, he gave them water first; afterwards he will be ready to hear. Goora nuts and palm wine, and beer were then handed round.

Captain *Trotter*.—We thank the King for the refreshment.

The *Attàh*.—If you have anything to say, say on.

Captain *Trotter* (to the Interpreter.)—Tell the Attàh, that our Sovereign, the Queen of Great Britain, has sent the four ships in the river, and the four Commissioners now present with a message to him. Tell the Attàh, that our Queen wishes her people and the Attàh's people to be good friends. A shout of applause followed this announcement.

Captain *Trotter* (to the Interpreter.)—Say to the King, that our Queen is most anxious that black men should not be taken away from their country, their homes, their wives, and children, and friends, and sold into slavery. She wants the traffic in slaves to be done away, (silence observed.) The Queen wishes to do away with that traffic altogether, and to establish instead of it a friendly commerce in palm oil, camwood, ivory, and any other articles they can produce for sale.

The King (Attàh) is very glad. (A shout from his attendants.)

Captain *Trotter* (to the Interpreter.)—Tell the King that the English people trade with all parts of the world, and that the Queen will encourage her people to come to Iddah and trade, if the King will abolish the Slave Trade.

Attàh says, If you have said all, he will answer.

Captain *Trotter* (to the Interpreter.)—Say to the King, that if he will consent to give up the Slave Trade, our Queen will not only encourage her people to come to Iddah and trade, but that the King shall have one-twentieth part of all merchandize sold in the Egarra country from British ships.

Attàh.—Very good.

Captain *Trotter* (to the Interpreter.)—Tell the King that English ships have been here to trade, but his people have been so busy in slave dealing, that they have not had any cargoes ready to sell to them; it will, therefore, be impossible for me to recommend them to come back, unless the King does away with the Slave Trade, and gets articles ready for traffic when the ships come.

Attàh will do so.

Captain *Trotter* (to the Interpreter.)—Say to the King, that as he has agreed to abolish the traffic in slaves, the Queen has sent him a handsome present, and will be very glad to hear that the Attàh has put down the Slave Trade. The King will have to sign an agreement, and when that is done, the presents shall be given to him.

Captain *Trotter* (to the Interpreter.)—Say to the King, that it is our religion which makes the Queen and British people anxious to do good to the African people. That she does not trade, but that her people do.

Captain *Trotter* (to the Interpreter.)—Tell the King, that we profess the Christian religion, and are anxious that his people should be taught.

Attàh says, Very well.

Captain *Trotter* (to the Interpreter.)—Tell the King that God's word is contained in this book, (handing up an Arabic Bible to him) and that the Commissioners will leave it with him, hoping that teachers will come and instruct his people.

Attàh very glad. The Bible was handed by his people to a malam (priest) to inspect.

Captain *Trotter* (to the Interpreter.)—Say to the King, that this Bible is God's book, and that teachers will come and instruct his people, and when they do come, he must treat them well.

Captain *Trotter* (to the Interpreter.)—Tell the King, that if his people meet a boat on his waters carrying slaves, he must break the canoe, and liberate the slaves.

Attàh is willing, (a shout.)

Captain *Trotter* (to the Interpreter.) Say that the Queen's subjects may trade with any of the Attàh's people.

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That English vessels or boats may pass up and down the river, whether they stop to trade or not.

Captain *Trotter* (to the Interpreter.)—Tell the King that the Queen of England has plenty of ships on the great water to catch ships carrying slaves, and that she sets the black men taken in them free.

Commissioner *Cook* (to the Interpreter.)—Say to the King, that it is the Christian religion which prompts the Queen and her people to send us to him. That the Queen is powerful, and that the sun never sets upon her dominions.

Attàh says, If you have done with all the questions, then he must give an answer.

A list of the presents intended to be given to the King was then read.

Attàh much obliged to the Commissioners, and God save the Queen.

Our bugleman here played God save the Queen, the Commissioners and officers standing.

Attàh asked to look at the bugle, and was amused with its construction. He also asked for writing paper to be added to the list of presents, which was promised.

The Attàh is asked what articles his people most require, that they may be brought to market.

The English want ivory, cotton, indigo, and will send people to teach them how to cultivate the soil properly.

Traders desirous of passing through his country to other countries must pass free.

If we send agents and teachers, will they be safe?

Attàh will be very glad to have them, and will take care of them.

Our Queen hears that Attàh allows the sacrifice of human victims, and wishes him to give up this custom, because it is contrary to God's commandments—that God who made all men.

Attàh will drop human sacrifices.

Do the Felatah people trouble his country very much at Adda Kuddu and other places?

Have they driven your people from Adda Kuddu?

Will the King give us Adda Kuddu to make a farm there, to show them how to grow indigo and cotton properly.

We hope he will soon be friends with his enemies, and that he will be successful in his war.

The above remark arose from the King's stating that he was at war with a branch of his family.

We cannot go to war, but, if possible, will induce his enemies to make peace with him.

This announcement pleased the King very much,

Will the King give a large tract of land, to be purchased, for the establishment of a model farm.

The King will give land, and will tell the person now in charge as Governor, to give it up to the white men, and will send his people to learn from the white men.

Will the King send a person with us to tell the Governor of the land to give it up to us?

The King consented.

We wish to build a fort to protect ourselves, and those under us.

The King will permit the building of a fort, and will send a person with us.

We wish to have an island in the river.

The King says he is willing, and that it is good. From Jogùh to Kakanda below, the country belongs to him.

Where the King puts white men as rulers, they must let him know if the people trouble them, and white men must not forget him; and if anybody annoys him, he will tell the white men, that he and they may be one.

The King has nothing further to say, but he would like to see all the things which have been enumerated to him, and hopes to see them to-morrow.

(To the Interpreter.)—Tell the King that to-morrow is God's day, and that we do not work on that day, but will go this evening to the other side, and return to him on Monday with the presents.

(To the Interpreter.)—Tell the King that God says in his book, that we shall keep one day in seven holy. God made heaven and earth in six days, and rested on the seventh.

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Will the King make a law to abolish slavery in forty-eight hours?

The King will.

God does not allow us to make any image of Him, but we pray on the Sabbath-day, and keep it holy. God made everybody; if a man be rich, God bestows it; if a man be strong, God gives it. God directs all things in this world.

The Judge Lobo promised to come on board. They did not wish to sign the Treaty before Monday, as it was nearly dark. The Commissioners retired; and that day's conference ended.

The third Sitting of the Commissioners continued.—*6th September*, 1841.

The Commissioners resumed their sitting this day, the 6th of September, 1841, and having prepared the Additional Articles to the Treaty, respecting the abolition of the custom of offering human sacrifices, and the cession of land for the erection of forts, &c., they proceeded on shore, to hold a second conference with the Attàh for the final arrangement, and signing of the Treaty.

The Attàh, attended by his head men, and some of the principal people of the town, was ready to receive the Commissioners.

After the customary salutations, the Attàh was asked to guarantee the safe conveyance of messengers and letters through his dominions by land and water.

Captain *Trotter*.—Will the Attàh pass them on, and back again.

The *Attàh* consents to do this.

The King appointed Hackah, the second judge, Massabah, a malam, and Bajè, his secretary, to be the agents to accompany the Commissioners to make over to them, for the Queen of Great Britain, any portion of land which they might require.

Captain Trotter told the Attàh, through the Interpreter, that the Commissioners wanted an island, and a portion of land near to the confluence of the Niger and Chadda.

The Treaties were then signed in triplicate by the Commissioners, and by Lobo, the chief judge of Iddah, on the part of the Attàh, as it was contrary to custom for him, the Attàh, to sign any document. The signing of the Treaty was witnessed by Hackah, the second judge of Iddah, and by Gibereen, a malam, as well as by an officer and others of the Albert.

The presents were then given to the King, with which he was very much pleased, and admired exceedingly the green silk velvet tobe. Presents were also given to his head men.

The master-at-arms from the Albert was dressed in the 1st Life Guards uniform, with cuirass and helmet, and attracted the attention of the Attàh very much. The Attàh sent for him to inspect his uniform.

The people in all the ships will pray to God to bless the Attàh and all his people. This announcement was followed by shouting and clapping of hands.

Commissioners then took leave of the Attàh and retired.

Read and confirmed this 14th of September, 1841.

H. D. TROTTER.

No. 5.

Albert, at the confluence of the Niger and Chadda,
13th September, 1841.

The Commissioners met this day on board the Albert.

Present:—

Captain Henry Dundas Trotter,	Commander Bird Allen,
Commander William Allen,	William Cook, Esq.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Müller.

The agents of the Attàh of Ègarrah being on board the Albert, ready to make over to the Commissioners for Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain the portion of land required by them, and the Chiefs in whose districts the land was situate being also on board, the Commissioners proceeded at once to deliberate on the boundaries and to arrange the Deed of Cession, before the minutes of the proceedings of the last meeting of the Commissioners were read.

Beaufort Island and Mount Patèh, appearing to be the most eligible positions for the erection of forts, and the greater part of the intermediate country being abandoned by the inhabitants in consequence of the incursions of the Foulahs, and the King of Ègarra having expressed a wish that the white people should occupy a large portion of land, these circumstances added to the prospect of fugitives

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settling on the land to live in freedom under British protection, induced the Commissioners to fix on a track of land extending sixteen miles in length, with an average breadth of four miles on the right bank of the river.

The agents having consented to return on board the Albert on the following day to sign the Deed of Cession, the meeting of the Commissioners was adjourned.

14th September, 1841.

The sitting of the Commissioners on board the Albert was resumed.

The Agents of the Attàh of Ègarrah and the Chiefs of the districts having returned on board the Albert, the Deed of Cession was fully explained to them in the Houssa language, especially that part in which it was declared that those Africans who retained slaves in their possession on the land now ceded must not expect British protection. The Agents thoroughly comprehended the whole meaning of the Deed, and signed it in the presence of the sons and some of the head men of the Chief of the mountain villages of Locojah.

The Commissioners attested the Deed of Cession, and gave suitable presents to the Agents and to the Chiefs of the Districts.

Fourteen bags of cowries, containing 160,000 in number, were delivered to the Agents for the Attàh of Ègarrah, as the first instalment of the purchase-money.

Read and confirmed this 16th day of September, 1841.

H. D. TROTTER.

No. 6.

Her Majesty's Steam-Vessel Albert, at anchor at the confluence of the rivers Niger and Chadda,
16th September, 1841.

The Commissioners met this day on board the Albert.

Present :—

Captain Henry Dundas Trotter,	Commander Bird Allen,
Commander William Allen,	William Cook, Esq.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Schön, Missionary, in the absence of the Chaplain to the Commissioners.

The minutes of the proceedings of the Commissioners at the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Secretary read a letter from Mr. Alfred Carr, Superintendent of a proposed model farm, requesting to be allowed from 300 to 500 acres of the land lately ceded to Her Majesty by the King of Èggarah, for the purpose of cultivation, for and on behalf of the Model Farm Society of Minchin Lane, London.

The Commissioners having taken the request into consideration, decided that that quantity of land, under certain stipulations, should be allowed for the purpose, and that the Secretary should write to Mr. Carr to that effect.

The following letter was accordingly written to Mr. Carr on the subject :—

Her Majesty's Steam-Vessel Albert, at the confluence of the rivers
Sir, Niger and Chadda, 16th September, 1841.

I am directed by the Commissioners of the Niger Expedition to acquaint you, in answer to your letter of the 15th instant, that they give you permission to cultivate for the Model Farm Society 500 English acres of that part of the land lately ceded by the Attàh of Èggarah to the Queen, which is not now under cultivation, on the payment of an annual rent of 1*d.* per acre into Her Majesty's Treasury by the Model Farm Society of Minchin Lane, London; and you have also permission from the Commissioners to hold the same for a period of five years from this date, subject to the approval of Her Majesty's Government,

When you fix upon the land which you wish to bring into cultivation, you are to inform the Commissioners thereof, or in their absence, the Senior Naval Officer of the Expedition then present, who will depute a proper person to fix the boundaries and register the same.

In the event of your wishing to hire, on the part of the Society, any houses or lands under cultivation, now in the possession of the natives, you are at liberty to do so, provided they are willing to part with the same; and you will in that case pay such a reasonable compensation to the native occupiers as may be decided upon by the Commissioners, or in their absence, by the Senior Naval Officer or their

deputy, in whose presence, and that of the Chief of the district in which the land is situate, the bargain must be made and the boundaries settled, which must afterwards be duly registered.

I am, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM BOWDEN, Secretary.

To Mr. Alfred Carr, Superintendent
of the Model Farm.

Captain Trotter stated that now that the Expedition had arrived at the confluence of the rivers Niger and Chadda, it appeared to him most desirable that some of the Commissioners should be detached to open friendly communications with the Chiefs on the banks of the Chadda, and that the remainder should proceed up the Niger for the same purpose.

The Commissioners referred to a letter from Lord John Russell, dated the 24th of April, 1841, and having deliberated thereon, resolved that two Commissioners should be detached to the Chadda, with power to act in making Treaties or Agreements with such Chiefs as lie beyond the immediate reach of the whole Commission, such Treaties or Agreements to be held subject to the sanction of the Commission, the details of the proceedings of such Commissioners to be embodied in the General Report of the Commissioners to Her Majesty's Government.

16th September, 1841.

Read and confirmed on the 18th September, 1841.

H. D. TROTTER.

No. 7.

Her Majesty's Steam-Vessel Albert, at anchor at the confluence of the rivers Niger and Chadda,
18th September, 1841.

The Commissioners met this day on board the Albert.

Present:—

Captain Henry Dundas Trotter,	Commander Bird Allen,
Commander William Allen,	William Cook, Esq.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Schön.

The minutes of the proceedings of the Commissioners at the last meeting were read and confirmed.

A discussion arose as to the propriety of all the steam-vessels descending the Niger, as the water was now at the highest, and it was considered by Commander William Allen that the unhealthy season was approaching.

Mr. Cook said that, if he were to consult his own feelings, he would say decidedly proceed; but, from the observations which had been made, he was of opinion that to ascend the river now would paralyze future exertions, and prevent ultimate success; but that, if we were to withdraw, we should be able to come up again with renovated health.

Commander William Allen stated that he wished to place his opinion on record, that the river will soon begin to fall, and that, judging from past experience, he was of opinion that the steam-vessels should leave the river, as the unhealthy season would commence in October; he considered it to be a duty to himself to state his opinion that, from the apparently great and increasing sickness which has appeared, the decision of the Commissioners at their previous sitting should not be abided by.

Commander Bird Allen said that as we had arrived at this point of our progress, and the Soudan was about to be dispatched with the sick, he thought it would be more desirable on our own accounts and that of the Government, that the other vessels should proceed for a week at least, and by that time it would be seen whether the sickness was on the increase.

Captain Trotter thought that the removal of her sick to the Soudan had increased the efficiency of the Albert, and as Commander William Allen still considered the Wilberforce fit to proceed, and Dr. McWilliam considered that the moving on of the vessels, and the change of climate higher up the river might prove beneficial, he could not see any sufficient reason for not abiding by the decision of the Commissioners at their last meeting, two days ago.

It was finally decided that it would be desirable for the Albert and Wilberforce to continue their journies up the two rivers.

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It was discussed whether when the vessels had arrived up the rivers, and at other places as far as they could reach, boats should be sent forward to Boussa and other places.

The season being so far advanced, it was thought not desirable to do so, and Captain Trotter said he would return the men belonging to the Wilberforce who had volunteered for this service.

It was afterwards discussed whether a proper messenger should be dispatched to Fundah to ascertain whether the King was disposed to enter into a treaty, and a suitable present was ordered to be given to the Malam for that purpose.

Read and confirmed 25th November, 1841.

H. D. TROTTER.

No. 8. Sunday, 19th September, 1841.

A special meeting of the Commissioners was held on board the Wilberforce to day, at the desire of Commander William Allen.

Present:—

Captain Henry Dundas Trotter,	Commander Bird Allen,
Commander William Allen,	William Cook, Esq.

Captain Bird Allen acted as Secretary, Mr. Bowden, the Secretary, being sick —ill with fever.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Schön, in the absence of the Rev. Mr. Müller.

Commander William Allen said he felt it a duty to state his conviction, from the experience he had had of the climate, the advanced period of the season, the increasing sickness in the Wilberforce, and, as he understood, in the Albert also, the difficulty and danger of having to remain in unhealthy parts to cut wood when the coals were expended,—that the reduced state of the Expedition can no longer warrant a perseverance in the prosecution of its objects, more especially should the sickness continue to increase, as we were led to infer it will from present and past experience; and as the moral effect of appearing before the town of Rabbah in a state of prostration would be most prejudicial to the mission.

Commander William Allen further stated that he had given the opinion in England in its general points, when first asked, and on every subsequent time, and that it remained unchanged. He therefore proposed—

"That from a consideration of these circumstances, it appears to be advisable that the Expedition should return without delay to the sea side, in the hope of being able to carry out its purposes at a more favourable season and with renewed strength."

Commander Bird Allen was of opinion that, although the increased sickness on board the Wilberforce rendered it necessary for that vessel to return immediately to the sea, yet as Captain Trotter considered the Albert to be able to proceed, and Dr. McWilliam thought it probable that the sickness might disappear as the vessel got higher up the river, and as by concluding a Treaty at Rabbah the greater part of the duties of the mission on the Niger might be accomplished this year, he conceived it to be desirable to prosecute those duties so long as the Albert was in an efficient state.

Captain Trotter, who concurred in the observations of Commander Bird Allen, said that he and all the Commissioners must be obliged to Commander William Allen for his opinion, and must feel its value; but as the white persons on board the Alburka, when he, Commander William Allen, was in her, at this and the higher parts of the river, in September and October, 1833, had not suffered from fever, he thought Dr. McWilliam's idea of finding a better climate as we advanced higher up the stream worthy of consideration.

The Commissioners then determined that Commander Bird Allen should proceed in the Albert with the view of making further Treaties up the Niger, &c., and that Commander William Allen and Mr. Cook should proceed to the coast in the Wilberforce, with power to carry out the instructions of Her Majesty's Government in making Treaties with Chiefs in the Bights of Benìn and Biaffra if opportunity offered—such Treaties, as before stated, to be held subject to the sanction of the Commission.

Read and confirmed 25th November, 1841.

H. D. TROTTER.

No. 9.

Her Majesty's Steam-Vessel Albert, at Sea, 25th November, 1841.

The Commission was held this day on board the Albert.

Present:—
Captain Henry Dundas Trotter.

The Minutes of the proceedings of the Commissioners at their meetings on the 18th and 19th of September were read and confirmed.

It is the painful duty of Captain Trotter to record the death of Commander Bird Allen of Her Majesty's steam-vessel Soudan, the Third Commissioner, on the 25th of October last, from a fever contracted up the river Niger.

Captain Trotter considering it absolutely necessary to return to England to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the state of the Expedition, and to obtain from the Secretary of State for the Colonies instructions for the future guidance of the Mission before rejoining the Commissioners in Africa, signified his intention of taking his departure this day in the Warree merchant vessel.

Mr. Bowden was charged to deliver this minute-book to Commander William Allen, of Her Majesty's steam-vessel Wilberforce, together with all other documents relating to the Commissioners, and was also charged by Captain Trotter to deliver a letter to the remaining Commissioners on the subject of the future operations of the Mission.

Captain Trotter being the only Commissioner present, and thinking it very improbable that he would be at the next meeting of the Commission, thought it advisable to deviate from the general rule by reading and confirming the present minutes.

Read and confirmed, 25th November, 1841.

H. D. TROTTER.

No. 10.

At a meeting held on board the Wilberforce at the Island of Ascension on the 3rd day of February, 1842.

Present:—
Captain William Allen, } Commissioners.
William Cook, Esquire, }

After the usual opening with prayers, &c.;—

Despatches were read from Captain Trotter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to the remaining Commissioners.

Captain Allen then said, that these communications contained subjects for the most serious deliberation. They conveyed the sad intelligence of the death of many of their companions; and the Commission in particular was reduced to half its number by the sickness and absence of Captain Trotter, and by the lamented death of Commander Bird Allen. These misfortunes, he feared, would go far to paralyse the efforts of the Expedition. "It is therefore incumbent on us to examine carefully our present condition, and to ascertain what prospect there is of attaining the objects for which so great an expense has been incurred by the country."

The first subject for consideration he thought was:—"Whether it be advisable to fill the vacancy in the Commission."

Captain Trotter in his letter says, "It is inadvisable to fill up the vacancy until it will be seen who will have sufficient strength to return to the Coast of Africa, and be able to re-ascend the Niger, and fulfil the duties of Commissioner." In this opinion Captain Allen fully concurred, believing that any appointment would be premature until the period for active operations shall commence or the wishes of Her Majesty's Government be known.

Captain Trotter is clearly of opinion that one vessel at least should be sent up the Niger during the ensuing season, for the purpose of making a Treaty with the King of the Fitalahs, and to communicate with the persons left at the model farm; but Captain Trotter also states, that the earliest time that a vessel can enter the river with a certainty of being able to pass the shoal water above Abòh will be about the 1st of July. He therefore informs the Commission that he had written to the Admiralty to say that the vessels might be expected to remain at Ascension till the 1st of June. Captain Trotter was partly led to this opinion by statements

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made by Messrs. Becroft and Midgley, persons of great experience in the Niger and on the Coast. The first of these gentlemen gives it as his opinion, from the difficulty he found in the Ethiope drawing 5 ft. 10 in. water at the latter end of May, that a vessel drawing 4ft., and wishing to reach Rabba as quickly as possible, should not enter the river previous to the 1st of July; if she draw 5 ft. not before the end of July; and a vessel wishing to ascend as high as Addakuddu, in March, should not draw more than 3 ft.

Mr. Midgley's opinion relates to the healthy or unhealthy time of the year. He states that the rainy season, viz., June, July, August, and September, are the most healthy; while April and May, October and November are the most unhealthy.

Captain Allen said, he was deeply impressed with the importance of making a Treaty with the King of Rabba, since it was evident from the information gathered during the recent visit of the Albert to Egga, joined to his own previous knowledge, that the Filatahs of Rabba are the oppressors of all the surrounding nations, and consequently they will be found to be the principal obstacle to the accomplishment of the beneficent intentions of Her Majesty and the British public.

With respect to the people left at the model farm there were reasons even stronger than those adduced by Captain Trotter which claimed the earliest attention of the Commissioners. Rumours have reached them which were unknown to Captain Trotter, that the infant settlement had been attacked, and every one murdered by the natives. These reports came in Her Majesty's brigantine Buzzard, by the circuitous route of Benìn, and though from the peculiar mode of intercourse in the interior they must necessarily have passed through many persons, they were liable to exaggeration, and consequently not entitled to much credit; yet the voice of humanity, as well as the honour of the nation, called upon them to communicate as early as possible with those persons, and to assure their safety.

A letter which was read from Mr. Brown, a native clerk attached to the Expedition, led to suspect also, that Mr. Carr, the superintendent of the model farm, who was returning to the settlement in a canoe belonging to the people of Brass Town, was attacked by natives and probably murdered. This statement seemed, however, to be too vague to merit much confidence; yet, as the safety of a British subject was involved, it became necessary to inquire into it.

In alluding to the efficiency of the Expedition, Captain Trotter could not of course be acquainted with the state of the Wilberforce; but Captain Allen had great satisfaction in being able to state that she was in all respects ready for service, as her crew were in excellent health, and with two officers who had volunteered from the Albert, he was able to man both the Wilberforce and the Soudan.

With reference to Mr. Becroft's statement, although Captain Allen had the greatest respect for the energy and talent of that gentleman, he could not quite agree with him as to the proper time for entering the river, especially as he could not be supposed to have had sufficient means for ascertaining the best channel, and there was reason to believe that in his written statement he had purposely kept within the mark.

Captain Allen knew from personal experience that there is shoal water a little way above Abòh, but as he trusted he would be able to lighten the vessel considerably, he hoped to be able to pass that part, and to reach at least the confluence during the lowest season; and in this belief he was confirmed by the examination of the journal of Messrs. Laird and Oldfield, as well as his own charts and journals.

With respect to Mr. Midgley's report, Captain Allen agreed that the rainy season is the most healthy, but he also found that in the interior the months of April and May were not only very pleasant, but he had reason to believe, healthy; and although from sickness and from other causes the Expedition had not attained all the objects which had been hoped for, and therefore in England it may be regarded as a total failure, still, he believed, that all the ardour of those composing it was not destroyed, but that the officers and men whom he had the honour to command, who had recovered their health, feel with him that their duty to their country imperatively calls upon them to make another attempt.

It was with much regret he differed from Captain Trotter and the authorities he had quoted, but such was his confidence in the zeal, talent, and energy of that officer, that he is quite sure if he were here he would not hesitate to proceed as early as possible to the relief of the settlers at the model farm, and to complete the operations which were so well commenced.

The importance of ascertaining the state of the river, when at the lowest, is unquestionable, and although a vessel entering it at the end of July might be more sure of passing up without obstruction, she would only be 20 days in advance of the season of our former disasters. We shall then still remain in ignorance of the length of time that the navigation of the river may be open to commercial enterprise, and this opportunity once lost, such would probably be the feeling of our country, that many years might elapse ere Africa can receive the blessed light of religion and the advantages of civilization, which we hoped to have been the humble means of introducing.

He would therefore propose to devote the remaining energies of the Expedition to the noble cause for which it was intended.

And as the Wilberforce is efficient, and the Soudan may soon be made so, he would proceed to Fernando Po, and there lighten both vessels as much as possible; proceed up the Niger, when at its lowest, or at the commencement of its rise; commuicate with the Ezzeh Obi, Ossaï of Abòh; with the Attàh of Iddah; with the settlers at the model farm; make a Treaty with the King of the Filatahs at Rabbah, and then return, unless everything should prove favourable; in that case an attempt might be made to explore the Chadda.

Mr. Cook said, he is of opinion that the river will have reached nearly the lowest in January, and as before the middle of March the quicksands which compose the greatest part of its bed, will become so drained and consolidated, as to throw the stream into one channel, it will be found deeper and more rapid, at that time, than after it begins to rise, or before it has reached its lowest.

He thought it improbable that a river, which Park describes at Sego, to be "as broad and deep as the Thames at Westminster," and which in its course through a country more or less mountainous, of upwards of a thousand miles, must receive many large rivers as tributaries before it is joined by the Chadda, can afterwards dwindle into an insignificant stream not having a depth of five or six feet. Though he should not have been surprised, at its not carrying that depth through the many channels of the Delta.

He has carefully read over Mr. Becroft's statement to Captain Trotter, and although he believes that gentleman would not intentionally state an untruth, he thinks it very doubtful whether he (Mr. Becroft) possessed the means of correctly ascertaining the deepest channel between the Delta and Rabba; he would further say, that in a conversation, Mr. Becroft informed him, that, had his vessel, the Ethiope, drawn only five feet, he could have reached at least the confluence without having occasion to lighten her.

He also believes that March and the two following months will be found comparatively healthy, and the best time for transacting business in the interior; he therefore recommends that an attempt to ascend the river be made in March, when the current having less strength than during full flood, the proper channel may be traced with less difficulty, and the facilities which it affords for the purpose of navigation, can be more correctly ascertained.

Captain Allen still thought it safer to enter the river when the commencement of the flood may be expected to be at hand, since, should a channel not be found, they might, if in health, be able to wait a few days, and in the event of the vessel's getting aground, the rising river would soon relieve them.

It was ultimately agreed, that it is expedient, an attempt be made to enter the river as early as possible in order to carry into execution the commands of Her Majesty's Government.

Read and confirmed on the 11th day of April. Fernando Po.

WILLIAM ALLEN.

No. 55.

No. 55.

To the Right Hon. Lord STANLEY, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, a REPORT of PROCEEDINGS from W. COOK, Esq. FOURTH COMMISSIONER of the NIGER EXPEDITION.

(Extracts.) *London, March* 11*th*, 1843.

IN obedience to instructions received from your Lordship's predecessor, I herewith annex a report of the proceedings of the late mission to the river Niger, together with a copy of my journal, to which I beg to refer your Lordship for particulars. To enter into a minute detail of all the disastrous occurrences of this unfortunate Expedition would be uninteresting, and would occupy too much of

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your Lordship's time. I shall therefore confine my observations briefly to the following heads:—

1. Voyage to the Niger.
2. Ascent and navigation of the River.
3. Treaties with native Chiefs.

* * * * * *

5. Model Farm.
6. Sickness and return of the Expedition to Fernando Po and Ascension.
7. Observations on origin and progress of Fever.

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1. *Voyage from England to the Niger.*

The Expedition, which was originally intended to have left England in October, did not sail from Plymouth till the 12th May following. The cause of this detention can be best explained by the naval officer in command. To this delay may be justly attributed all the disasters which subsequently occurred.

The outward voyage was as favourable as regarded the weather as could have been desired. After calling at Madeira, Teneriffe, St. Vincent, and Cape de Verds, the steamers arrived at Sierra Leone as follows: the "Albert," on the 24th, "Wilberforce," 26th, and "Soudan," 29th June.

Having engaged Kroomen and interpreters from among the liberated Africans located in the colony, the Expedition (which had now been joined by the "Amelia" tender) sailed from thence on the 2nd July, and after visiting the American settlements in Liberia, and the British settlements on the Gold Coast, it reached the bar of the "Nun" on the 10th August. The Albert, Soudan, and Amelia tender passed within the bar on the 13th, the Wilberforce on the 15th.

The following table will show the number of days which the Albert and Wilberforce remained at anchor between the time of leaving England and commencing the ascent of the river on the 20th August.

Place.	Albert.	Wilberforce.	Cause of Detention.
	Days.	Days.	
Madeira	5	5	Taking coals, &c.
Teneriffe	1	1	Ditto.
St. Vincent . . .	13	13	Taking in coals and stores.
Tarrafal Bay . . .	..	2	Watering.
Sierra Leone . . .	9	7	Coaling and watering.
Monrovia	1	1	Visiting.
Grand Bassa . . .	..	6	Wooding.
Sinoo	3	..	Ditto.
Cape Palmas . . .	..	3	Ditto.
El-Mina	..	1	Want of fuel.
Cape Coast . . .	13	7	Taking in coals and stores.
Accra	4	4	Ditto.
Bar of the Nun . .	3	5	Ditto.
Mouth of river, (within the bar)	7	5	Cleaning vessels.
Total . . .	59	60	

The Soudan left England some weeks previously to the other steamers and put into Lisbon.

There being a considerable rise and fall of tide within the bar of the Nun, the steamers were laid on the ground and cleaned, and some repairs done to the rudders, which were deemed necessary. In performing this service much valuable time was lost, especially on board the Wilberforce. Four successive attempts to lay this vessel on the ground failed, and it was only with the assistance of steam that they at last succeeded.

2. *Ascent and Navigation of the Niger.*

The preparations being all completed, the Expedition, consisting of the three steamers and the Amelia tender, commenced the ascent of the Niger by Lewis' Creek on the morning of the 20th August. Lieutenant Levinge, of H. M. brig Buzzard, kindly accompanied it to the upper end of the creek with his boat, and took charge of the despatches for England, after which it proceeded up the river. Vessels anchored every night before dark, and weighed at day-light in the morning. The Delta at and near the creek is split up into a number of islands, or rather clusters of mangrove bushes, for there is not an inch of land to be seen above water.

This creek is about 100 yards wide, with not more than 10 feet water in many places at high tide. As we advanced, the river became broader and deeper (seldom less than three fathoms) throwing off branches equally deep and rapid to the right and left. About 10 miles from the sea the land first assumed a solid form, and became sufficiently elevated to admit of huts, which might be seen here and there with patches of cultivation in their vicinity. At first the natives were exceedingly shy, and endeavoured to avoid us, but as we advanced they became less timid; the banks attained a greater solidity, and the more elevated parts were occupied with villages and plantations, exhibiting a greater degree of comfort and neatness than we had expected to find in this part of Africa. The slim, waving mangroves, with their sombre unvarying tints, were now replaced by huge forest trees of the most variegated and luxuriant foliage, throwing the shade of their gigantic limbs across the stream.

In some of the villages the inhabitants were employed in digging out canoes, making paddles, &c.; at others, they appeared to be engaged in the manufacture of earthen jars, pots, &c. In passing these villages the natives generally greeted us with a cheer of welcome, and as often as they had opportunity, came alongside in their canoes, without exhibiting the least sign of suspicion.

The river below Abòh varied from 1000 to 500 yards in breadth, seldom exceeding the former or less than the latter; several of the branches running off to the S.W. appeared of equal magnitude with that by which we ascended (and which we considered the main branch), more especially one about 20 miles below, and another about the same distance above Abòh; the latter has a depth of from 8 to 10 fathoms across it, and if ever examined will most probably be found to be a continuation of the Formosa, and will afford a shorter and better channel into the main stream, than that by which the Expedition entered (Lewis' Creek). It was afterwards found that the natives on the right bank above Abòh were subjects of the King of Benin.

After passing Abòh, the river expands into the form of a lake, thickly studded with islands, in some places it may be two miles across. The Bonny branch, which is very small, runs off to the S.E., a few miles beyond Abòh. The river preserves this lake-like appearance nearly all the way to the high land, a distance of from 50 to 60 miles. The deepest channel was found on the west or right bank, where the current was never less than from three to three and a half knots per hour. The speed of the steamers in the river was estimated at five and a half knots, so that in reality they only went over the ground about two knots per hour. Instead of two engines of 35-horse power each, the large steamers should have had two engines of 60-horse power each; two 35-horse engines might have been sufficient for the Soudan.

On entering what may properly be termed the vale of the Niger, the river is confined within narrower bounds; the ground gradually rises on both banks till it has attained an elevation of about 300 feet. After being so long among the lowlands and swamps of the Delta, this change in the scenery was very agreeable to the eye. A belt of trees, as if planted by man, runs along the margin of the river, and another, with equal regularity, crowns the ridge of the hills; the intermediate space is interspersed with boulders and studded with clumps of trees, round which the grass is beautifully green, and gives the whole the appearance of a gentleman's park. A few miles beyond this the Niger is joined by a river from the north-east; this stream appears to be deep and rapid, with high land on both banks. Proceeding onwards for a short distance, the country again becomes low and swampy, it again assumes the appearance of a lake; the banks and islands, which are numerous, are all flooded, and the high land only visible in the distance. In this state it continues to some miles beyond Iddah, where it again narrows to about half a mile.

From thence upwards to the confluence there are few islands, the river is very beautiful, washing in its course the base of the Kong Mountains. It varies in breadth from 500 to 1500 yards, with a depth of from 3 to 15 fathoms, and a a current of $3\frac{1}{2}$ knots. On each side of the Chadda at the confluence there is a tract of low swampy country, and a number of sand-banks in the river, which renders the navigation a little difficult.

The Niger is called by the natives "Uchiminy-fu-fu" (white water); the Tchadda, "Uchiminy-du-du" (dark water.)

From the great breadth of the Niger, between Abòh and Iddah, with its numerous sand-banks and islands, it will be seen how difficult it must be to keep in the right channel when the river is in full flood, and how dangerous the navigation

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must be when the water is falling. The best time then to survey the river with accuracy, and to ascertain the best channel, would be when it is at the lowest, which is from January to April. This would also be found the healthiest season. Whenever this survey is made, it will be found that this mighty river, which supplies so many navigable channels through its own delta, at all seasons, cannot be less when one entire stream than after it is divided. As the bed of the river consists of sand, the channel will most probably be found to shift from year to year. Though the river assumes the form of a lake when in flood, yet there is good reason to suppose that when low its waters will be found concentrated in one narrow channel, deep enough, it may be presumed, to be navigated by such vessels as Her Majesty's steam-vessel Wilberforce, drawing from 5 to 6 feet water.

3. *Treaties with Native Chiefs.*

In passing up the river, Treaties were entered into with the chiefs of Abòh and Iddah, having as their basis the total suppression of the Slave Trade, the abolition of human sacrifices, and the establishment of commercial relations between their people and Her Majesty's subjects.

On these Treaties no dependence can be placed, because, in the first place, it is very doubtful whether the Chiefs possessed the power of making Treaties; and, secondly, because it is quite certain that they have no means to enforce them. The Chief of any village on the Niger would readily have entered into a similar Treaty, had he been applied to, merely that he might obtain a present.

To render these Treaties available, resident agents should be established at the principal towns on the river, with an armed steam-vessel at their disposal. The Chiefs of Abòh and Iddah expressed a great desire to have Christian missionaries sent to them. Christian instruction and agricultural knowledge would ultimately do more to raise the moral character of the people, and suppress the abominable traffic in human flesh, than any measure heretofore resorted to. The expense of these agents and a small steamer would be trifling compared with the advantages which might be expected to follow, especially in giving a check to the Slave Trade. The people every where are fond of traffic, to facilitate which markets are regularly held at several places, (chiefly on islands) in the river. These marts of commerce are well attended, and all property brought for sale is considered sacred, even in time of war! Christian instruction, and a regular demand for the natural productions of the country, are all that is wanted as a stimulus to the industry of the people. The experience of three centuries proves that commerce alone cannot effect the moral regeneration of this people; in proof of which, we have only to refer to those places on the coast most frequented by Europeans; there it will be found that the natives have acquired all the vices, without any of the virtues, of their European visitors. It is an incontestable fact that the natives of the interior are a more civilized people, more decently clothed, and much more easily dealt with than those on or near the coast.

One beneficial result may be expected from the Expedition; it has been the means of making the natives of the interior better acquainted with the character of the people of England; and ignorant as they (the natives) are, they cannot but appreciate the motives which induced our countrymen, at so much risk and expense, to visit them. The native interpreters, who were all liberated slaves, must have convinced their countrymen of the disinterested kindness of Her Majesty's Government to the people of Africa.

From the shortness of our stay at Abòh and Iddah, and the limited intercourse which we had with the Chiefs of these places, it would be difficult to form anything like a correct estimate of their character; but from what occurred during the negociations, it may be safely inferred that they are shrewd intelligent men, perfectly alive to their own interest, and adepts at evasion and dissimulation. They invariably evinced great tact in parrying or evading the various questions which were put to them relative to the Slave Trade, the places from whence its chief supplies were derived, prices at the various markets, routes to the coast, &c. They were equally evasive on the subject of human sacrifices, murder and exposure of twins, the harsh and cruel treatment of the unfortunate mothers, &c. When closely interrogated on these and other subjects, they were detected in many falsehoods, so that little dependence can be placed on any information obtained through them.

Their authority is exceedingly limited, and little more than nominal beyond the town in which they reside. As an instance of this, the Attàh or Chief of Iddah

calls himself Sovereign of the Èggarah country, and claims as his subjects all the inhabitants of both banks of the river, from the Enyah market to Egga, and both banks of the Chadda, from the confluence to beyond Faundah; whereas, the inhabitants of the right bank opposite to Iddah, within one mile of the capital, are quite a different people, and disclaim his authority. They are subjects of the King of Benin, and continually at war with the Attàh. But for the circumstance of the steamers going on that side to cut wood this would not have been discovered, and credit might have been given to the Attàh's statement. The discovery is important, however, as it goes some length to prove that the territories of the King of Benin extend from the town of that name upwards along the Formosa branch of the river to within 50 miles of the confluence. These Benin people are more warlike than their neighbours of Abòh or Iddah, and in their habits totally different. They have no canoes, nor any commerce with the natives on the left bank. They were at first opposed to wood being cut on their land, but afterwards gave permission. During the time our people remained on shore the natives, armed with spears, bows and arrows, continued to watch their movements with the greatest jealousy, they had never before seen white men, and had no fire-arms.

These rude people appeared to pay more attention to agriculture than either of their neighbours. At Abòh and Iddah it is much neglected; the only implement of husbandry is the hoe.

4. *Slavery.*

Slavery exists in every country on the Niger; and if the information obtained can be depended upon, at least two-thirds of the people of these countries are slaves.

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5. *Model Farm.*

It being an object of the Expedition to establish a model farm for the purpose of instructing the natives in agriculture, thereby to prove to them the value and capability of the soil, and how easy it would be by industry to supply all their wants from its produce, without having recourse to war or selling their fellow men as slaves, on the arrival of the Expedition at the confluence, a suitable piece of land was selected for this farm, and the erection of a fort near it for the protection of the settlement. The necessary stores and implements of husbandry being landed, possession was taken in the name of Her Majesty. All this was done with the knowledge and consent of the Attàh and the local Chiefs and people of the immediate neighbourhood, to whom presents were given. As soon as this was done, the people in the vicinity brought abundance of provisions to the new settlement for sale, and those who had nothing to dispose of came and hired themselves as labourers: nothing could exceed the good feeling shown by the natives on every occasion.

The soil of this new settlement was found to be very indifferent, but the situation possessed advantages that could not be overlooked. Mount Pettèh commands a view of many miles up the Chadda, as well as up and down the Niger: a small steamer stationed there would control everything passing or repassing.

6. *Sickness and Return of the Expedition to Fernando Po and Ascension.*

So far the objects of the Expedition had been attained, and everything promised a favourable termination to the mission.

It had been arranged that on leaving the confluence, one of the steamers should proceed up the Chadda as far as it could without endangering its return, for the purpose of making Treaties with those Chiefs who might be willing to do so. The other two steamers were at the same time to proceed up the Niger for the same purpose, as far as it would be found navigable; after which it was intended to proceed in the gallies to Timbuctu, and as much higher as they could get. The Amelia was to have been left at the confluence to protect the settlement.

These arrangements were rendered abortive, and the further progress of the Expedition arrested by the fearful sickness which broke out on board all the vessels. This fever had within 19 days spread to such an alarming extent that two-thirds of the original crew were now affected by it. It was evident that the vessels in this state could not proceed farther without great risk, especially as the river had already began to fall. It must have been resolved either to remain up and take the chance of the men recovering, or to retreat as fast as possible to the sea. Had the former of these resolutions been decided on, the Expedition would have been kept entire and ready to resume operations in December following: the sick might

RIVER NIGER.

Mr. Cook's Report.

either have been permitted to remain on board, or they could have been landed and tents erected for their accommodation on the top of Mount Pettèh. The sick in the Wilberforce were all on deck under the awnings, and by no means well protected from the effects of the weather. * * * * *

By remaining up the river I believe the sick would have recovered more rapidly than they did, and they would thus be saved from running the gauntlet a second time through the Delta, where it is more than probable the first seeds of the disease were imbibed. Dr. Pritchett, with whom I coincided, gave his opinion against removing the sick, and the result of his own practice proves that opinion to have been correct. Dr. M'William, with whom the naval commander concurred, thought it best to send the sick out of the river. The Soudan, on the 19th of September, and in two days afterwards the Wilberforce, were despatched down the river, while the Albert made an attempt to reach the highest navigable point; she did not, however, succeed in getting beyond Egga, (which is about 40 miles above the confluence,) when she was obliged to return, captain, officers, and engineers being all attacked with fever.

The Soudan reached the bar of the Nun on the 22nd, where she was fortunate enough to find Her Majesty's brig Dolphin, to which vessel the sick were transferred and conveyed to Ascension.

The Wilberforce, after having been detained at several places cutting wood, reached the Nun on the 25th, where she met with a farther detention of four days in procuring fuel sufficient to carry her to Fernando Po, at which island she arrived on the 1st October in the most helpless condition, with but one officer on board beside the doctor fit to do duty. By the kind assistance of Lieutenant Blunt and the officers and crew of the Pluto, she was supplied with coals and enabled to leave Clarence on the 9th, having on board an engineer from that vessel. After calling at the islands of Princes, St. Thomas, and Annobon, she arrived at Ascension on the 17th November. The Albert arrived at the same place on the 28th February following.

7. *Observations on the Origin and Progress of the Fever.*

The fever, from the ravages of which the objects of the Expedition had been thus frustrated, first showed itself on board the Wilberforce, immediately after leaving Grand Bassa, a port on the Kroo coast, where she had put in to procure wood and water. The disease at that time was chiefly confined to those coloured men who had joined the Expedition in England, and who, upon this occasion, were most exposed to the wet and damp. One of these died; the others recovered and were all convalescent when the Expedition commenced the ascent of the river. On board the Albert they had one case of fever, which terminated fatally at the mouth of the Nun. With these exceptions, there was no cause for alarm; the crews were in the enjoyment of good health and spirits until the ships reached Iddah, where the disease broke out anew with increased virulence, and spread so rapidly that, within 19 days, two-thirds of the original crew were prostrated by it.

This fever differed from the yellow fever of the West Indies, and, indeed, from anything of the kind which I had ever seen before. The medical gentlemen, though possessing the highest professional attainments, confessed they did not understand it. Such being the case, no systematic course could be pursued in its treatment, (I speak more especially of what occurred on board the Wilberforce.) Nothing, however, was left undone that could be effected by the most consummate medical skill, backed by the most unwearied and humane attention.

Dr. Pritchett's professional skill may be tested by his successful practice, as may be seen by reference to Report, Appendix ; but his cheerful demeanour and unwearied attention to his numerous patients, under the most trying circumstances, must have been witnessed to be fully appreciated. At one time he had upwards of 30 fever patients to attend to night and day without an assistant; during which time he was far from being in the enjoyment of good health himself.

This gentleman's report will treat more fully of the disease.

* * * * *

In drawing up this report I have endeavoured to represent things as they appeared to myself, without reference to the opinion of others on the same subject. The observations on climate seasons, sickness, &c., are founded on the experience of many years spent in a tropical climate nearly resembling that of the Niger.

The precarious state of my health since my return from Africa has prevented my furnishing your Lordship with this document at an earlier period.

Enclosure in No. 55.

A List of the Persons who died and were invalided belonging to Her Majesty's Steamer Albert, between May 12, 1841, and January 28, 1842.

Name.	Age.	Rank.	Disease or Accident.	Date of Commencement.	Place where, in what Ship, or if on Shore.	Date of Termination.	Place where, in what Ship, or if on Shore.	How terminated.
				1841.		1841.		
Samuel Johnson	28		Concussion of brain	July 3	Passage to Monrovia	July 3	Passage to Monrovia, Albert	Died.
Thomas Kemp	23	Marine	Uncertain	,, 3	Passage out, Albert	,, 2	Cape Coast ,,	Invalided.
J. W. Bach	34	Instrument maker	Delirium tremens	August 9	Mouth of Nun ,,	August 15	Mouth of Nun ,,	Died.
John Peglar	32	Stoker	Remittent fever	September 4	Iddah ,,	September 7	Iddah ,,	Ditto.
William Underwood	22	Gun-room Steward	,,	,, 4	,, ,,		Hospital, Ascension	Invalided.
James Robinson	30	Stoker	,,	,, 5	,, ,,	September 17	Confluence Albert	Died.
John Burgess	24	Seaman	,,	,, 5	,, ,,	,, 14	,, ,,	Ditto.
—— Johnson	40	Interpreter	Drowned	,, 5	,, ,,	,, 5	Iddah	Ditto.
W. M'Millan	32	Quartermaster	Remittent fever	,, 6	,, ,,		Passage to Ascension, Dolphin	Ditto.
Lewis J. Wolfe	19	Seamen's Schoolmaster	,,	,, 6	,, ,,		Passage to Fernando Po, Soudan	Ditto.
George Powell	23	Cooper	,,	,, 7	,, ,,	September 11	Adda Kuddu, Albert	Ditto.
William Merriman	42	Gunner	,,	,, 8	,, ,,	November 22	Fernando Po hospital	Invalided.
Frederick Nightingale	26	Assistant Surgeon	,,	,, 8	,, Amelia	September 17	Confluence, Albert	Died.
William Moffat	27	Sapper	,,	,, 9	Apokai ,,		Passage to Ascension, Dolphin	Ditto.
Mehemet Ali	26	Cook	,,	,, 9	,, Albert		Hospital, Ascension	Invalided.
James May	35	Boatswain's Mate	,,	,, 13	Confluence ,,		,,	Ditto.
Robert Milward	46	Purser's Steward	,,	,, 14	,, ,,	October 22	Fernando Po hospital	Died.
Ellis Jones	36	Quartermaster	,,	,, 17	,, ,,		Passage to Ascension, Dolphin	Ditto.
John Waller	26	Corporal of Marines	,,	,, 18	,, ,,		,, ,,	Ditto.
Thomas Ward	28	Gun-room Steward	,,	,, 18	,, ,,		Ascension hospital	Invalided.
John Thomas	24	Stoker	,,	,, 18	,, ,,		,,	Ditto.
G. B. Harvey	32	Master	,,	,, 18	,, ,,		H. M. S. Wilberforce	Died.
D. H. Stenhouse	26	Acting Lieutenant	,,	,, 19	,, ,,	October 28	Fernando Po hospital	Ditto.
John Fuge	28	Seaman	,,	,, 20	,, Amelia	September 28	Egga, Albert	Ditto.
W. H. Willmett	19	Clerk	,,	,, 23	Goree Market, Albert	November 5	Fernando Po hospital	Ditto.
James Brown	26	Third Engineer	,,	,, 23	,, ,,	,, 22	,,	Invalided.
John M'Lackland	38	Seaman	,,	,, 22	Above Confluence ,,	,, 22	,,	Ditto.
John M'Clintock	33	Stoker	,,	,, 24	Goree Market ,,	,, 20	,, Albert	Died from a scuffle.
George Syme	40	Quartermaster	,,	,, 25	Nufi Vill. Kilami ,,	October 2	Egga ,,	Died.
George Cole	23	Marine	,,	,, 25	,, ,,	,, 16	Nun to Fernando Po ,,	Ditto.
Albion Lodge	36	Second Engineer	,,	,, 28	Egga ,,	,, 8	Mount Victoria ,,	Jumped overboard, and was drowned.
James Horton	29	Seaman	,,	October 7	Passage from Egga ,,	November 22	Fernando Po ,,	Invalided.
J. C. Willie	24	Mate	,,	,, 4	Egga	October 18	,, hospital	Died.
James Woodhouse	26	Assistant Surgeon	,,		Soudan	,, 30	,, government house	Ditto.
Morgan Kinsen	42	Marine		November 2	Fernando Po, Albert	November 6	,, hospital	Ditto.
						1842.		
Tom Davis	26	Krooman	Consumption		,, Pluto	January 17	Passage to Ascension, Albert	Ditto.

Deaths from fever	23
,, casualties	2
,, consumption	1
Invalided	10

List of Persons belonging to Her Majesty's Steam Vessel Wilberforce, who died, or were invalided, between the 12th May, 1841, and 28th January, 1842.

Name.	Age.	Rank.	Disease.	Date of Commencement, Place where, and in what Ship, or if on Shore.	Date of Termination, Place where, or in what Ship, or if on Shore.	How Terminated.
Joseph Weston	44	Captain's cook	Rheumatism	July 23,—at sea	Sierra Leone, Wilberforce, July 27	Invalided.
Henry Halbert	29	Stoker	Fever	,, 18, ,,	At sea, ,, ,, 23	Died.
David Wright	24	African	Apoplexy	,, 22, ,,	,, ,, ,, 23	Ditto.
James Kneebone	23	Seaman	Fever	Sept. 4,—Wilberforce,—Niger	Niger, ,, Sept. 11	Ditto.
William Rabbling	29	Sapper	,,	,, 6, ,, Confluence	Confluence, ,, ,, 14	Ditto.
William Lucas	26	Boatswain's Mate	,,	,, 6, ,, ,,	Ascension, Oct. 21	Invalided.
H. C. Harston	29	Lieutenant	,,	,, 14, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, 21	Ditto.
Peter Fitzgerald	27	Stoker	,,	,, 16, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, 2	Died.
Cyrus Wakeham	45	Purser	,,	,, 17, ,, ,,	Mouth of Nun, ,, Sept. 27	Ditto.
John Osborne	25	Corporal of Marines	,,	,, 18, ,, ,,	Ascension, 1842, Jan. 4	Invalided.
Henry Hillier	23	Carpenter's Mate	,,	,, 19, ,, ,,	,, 1841, Oct. 21	Ditto.
George Cuthbertson	38	Sergeant of Marines	,,	,, 26, ,, Passage down the River	,, ,, 11	Died.
William Allford	22	Seaman	,,	Oct. 21,	,, ,, 31	Ditto.
Absolom Delevante	50	Interpreter	Adynamia	Nov. 20, ,, Ascension	,, ,, Nov. 20	Invalided.
Thomas Roberts	29	Private Marine	,,	,, 20, ,, ,,	,, ,, 20	Ditto.
Dr. Theodore Vogel	34	Botanist	Dysentery	Dec. 16, ,, Fernando Po.	Fernando Po in lodgings	Died.
John Morley	27	Carpenter's Mate	Drowned	June 10, ,, St. Vincent	St. Vincent, Wilberforce	Ditto.

Seven deaths occurred from fever on board the Wilberforce, one in proceeding along the coast prior to entering the river, making one officer and six men belonging to the vessel; besides these were two officers, one the Master of the Albert, the other the Assistant Surgeon of the Soudan, received on board at the confluence for passage to the sea for benefit of change of air, making in all nine deaths on board the Wilberforce from fever. Two casualties also occurred, one, David Wright, a liberated African, who died suddenly from apoplexy a few days after being entered on board; the other, John Morley, a carpenter's mate, being drowned while the vessel was anchored off the Cape de Verdes. Dr. Vogel had a severe attack of fever on board the Wilberforce, from which he recovered, but was attacked with dysentery two months after at Fernando Po, from which disease he died.

A List of the Persons who died and were invalided belonging to Her Majesty's Steam Vessel Soudan, between 12th May, 1841, and 28th January, 1842.

Name.	Age.	Rank.	Disease.	Date of Commencement, Place where, and in what Ship, or if on Shore.	Date of Termination, and Place where, or in what Ship.	How Terminated.
Bird Allen	..	Commander	Fever	Albert	Fernando Po	Dead.
John Belam	28	Master	,,	Sept. 14, 1841—Soudan	Oct. 21, 1841—Ascension	Invalided.
W. B. Marshall	40	Surgeon	,,	,, 6, ,,	Sept. 21, Soudan	Dead.
N. Waters	30	Clerk in charge	,,	,, 16, ,,	,, 22, ,,	Ditto.
H. Collman	..	Assistant Surgeon	,,		Wilberforce	Ditto.
W. Johnston	25	Second Engineer	,,		Oct. 21, Ascension	Invalided.
W. Kingdon	..	Seamen's Instructor	,,		Albert	Dead.
C. Bigley	25	Stoker	,,	Sept. 23, ,,	Oct. 2, Fernando Po, Soudan	Ditto.
J. Perham	40	Ditto	,,	,, 20, ,,	Oct. 21, Ascension	Invalided.
W. Strain	24	Gent's Steward	,,	,, 14, ,,	,, 21, ,,	Ditto.
Jas. Cairns	24	Stoker	,,	,, 28, ,,	Dolphin	Dead.
Jas. Thomas	26	Carpenter's Mate	,,	,, 14, ,,	Sept. 21, Soudan	Ditto.
Cornelius Howe	26	Stoker	,,	,, 11, ,,	Oct. 21, ,,	Invalided.
John Young	33	Quarter Master	,,	,, 16, ,,	Dolphin	Ditto.
John Whittaker	35	Ditto	,,	,, 28, ,,	,,	Dead.
Charles Levinge	..	Steward	,,	,, 2, ,,	Soudan	Ditto.
John Dennis	21	Captain's Coxswain	,,		Oct. 21, ,,	Invalided.
John Davis	32	Boat Mate	,,	,, 16, ,,	,,	Ditto.
W. M'Lauchlin	..	Sailmaker	,,		Fernando Po	Ditto.
James Hill	26	Gun-room Steward	,,	,, 18, ,,	Dolphin	Dead.
H. Isaacs	35	Corporal of Marines	,,	,, 18, ,,		Invalided.
B. Pittam	36	Marine Artillery	,,	,, 3, ,,	Oct. 21	Ditto.
F. Hilbert	22	Marine	,,	,, 21, ,,	,,	Ditto.
P. Tyack	26	Ditto	,,	,, 13, ,,	,,	Ditto.
J. Strayman	22	A. B.	,,	,, 15, ,,	,,	Ditto.
W. Edwards	25	Purser's Steward, drowned at sea, 20th May				Dead.

Soudan's complement on leaving England consisted of 32 white men, of whom 25 are here disposed of—one still remains in the Hospital, one drowned* (between Teneriffe and Cape de Verdes 20th May, 1841), one invalided at Cape de Verdes, the remaining four only being effective at present.

12 died of fever.
1 drowned.
13 invalided.

* William Edwards, aged 25, purser's steward.

No. 56. No. 56.

Copy of a LETTER from Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart., to G. W. Hope, Esq.

Sir, Northrepps, near Norwich, March 16, 1843.

I request you will be so obliging as to inform Lord Stanley that I have received the papers relative to the Expedition to the river Niger, sent for my inspection; and that I beg to express to his Lordship my sincere thanks for this favour.

Allow me to say that it appears to me that one point has not been sufficiently noticed. Lieutenant Webb, in a letter to myself, dated the 12th instant, says, "As far as I could gather from the settlers, they had not materially suffered in point of health; indeed the climate seemed to be no obstacle whatever to their prosperity. One or two of the black crew of the Wilberforce had a slight attack of intermittent fever, which I attributed to the effect of hard and trying work when we were on the rock; for instance, baling the coals out of the forehold, up to their middles in water, which exposure would, in all probability, have led to the same results on any other part of the coast."

I think this fact of sufficient importance to be put upon record, because, though I do not expect that we shall again send out an Expedition principally composed of white men, yet it may be in contemplation hereafter to make the same effort, with a crew composed of persons of colour, in which case it would be very desirable that a fact so decisive relative to the climate, and resting upon such good authority, should be known.

I have, &c.,
(Signed) T. FOWELL BUXTON.

G. W. Hope, Esq., M.P.,
&c. &c. &c.

List of Persons belonging to Her Majesty's Steam Vessel Wilberforce, who died, or were invalided, between the 12th May, 1841, and 28th January, 1842.

Name.	Age.	Rank.	Disease.	Date of Commencement, Place where, and in what Ship, or if on Shore.	Date of Termination, Place where, or in what Ship, or if on Shore.	How Terminated.
Joseph Weston	44	Captain's cook	Rheumatism	July 23,—at sea	Sierra Leone, Wilberforce, July 27	Invalided.
Henry Halbert	29	Stoker	Fever	,, 18, ,,	At sea, ,, ,, 23	Died.
David Wright	24	African	Apoplexy	,, 22, ,,	,, ,, ,, 23	Ditto.
James Kneebone	23	Seaman	Fever	Sept. 4,—Wilberforce,—Niger	Niger, ,, Sept. 11	Ditto.
William Rabbling	29	Sapper	,,	,, 6, ,, Confluence	Confluence, ,, ,, 14	Ditto.
William Lucas	26	Boatswain's Mate	,,	,, 6, ,, ,,	Ascension, Oct. 21	Invalided.
H. C. Harston	29	Lieutenant	,,	,, 14, ,, ,,	,, ,, 21	Ditto.
Peter Fitzgerald	27	Stoker	,,	,, 16, ,, ,,	,, ,, 2	Died.
Cyrus Wakeham	45	Purser	,,	,, 17, ,, ,,	Mouth of Nun, ,, Sept. 27	Ditto.
John Osborne	25	Corporal of Marines	,,	,, 18, ,, ,,	Ascension, 1842, Jan. 4	Invalided.
Henry Hillier	23	Carpenter's Mate	,,	,, 19, ,, ,,	,, 1841, Oct. 21	Ditto.
George Cuthbertson	38	Sergeant of Marines	,,	,, 26, ,, Passage down the River	,, ,, 11	Died.
William Allford	22	Seaman	,,	Oct. 21,	,, ,, 31	Ditto.
Absolom Delevante	50	Interpreter	Adynamia	Nov. 20, ,, Ascension	,, ,, Nov. 20	Invalided.
Thomas Roberts	29	Private Marine	,,	,, 20, ,, ,,	,, ,, 20	Ditto.
Dr. Theodore Vogel	34	Botanist	Dysentery	Dec. 16, ,, Fernando Po.	Fernando Po in lodgings	Died.
John Morley	27	Carpenter's Mate	Drowned	June 10, ,, St. Vincent	St. Vincent, Wilberforce	Ditto.

Seven deaths occurred from fever on board the Wilberforce, one in proceeding along the coast prior to entering the river, making one officer and six men belonging to the vessel; besides these were two officers, one the Master of the Albert, the other the Assistant Surgeon of the Soudan, received on board at the confluence for passage to the sea for benefit of change of air, making in all nine deaths on board the Wilberforce from fever. Two casualties also occurred, one, David Wright, a liberated African, who died suddenly from apoplexy a few days after being entered on board; the other, John Morley, a carpenter's mate, being drowned while the vessel was anchored off the Cape de Verdes. Dr. Vogel had a severe attack of fever on board the Wilberforce, from which he recovered, but was attacked with dysentery two months after at Fernando Po, from which disease he died.

A List of the Persons who died and were invalided belonging to Her Majesty's Steam Vessel Soudan, between 12th May, 1841, and 28th January, 1842.

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John Belam	28	Master	,,	Sept. 14, 1841—Soudan	Oct. 21, 1841—Ascension	Invalided.
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N. Waters	30	Clerk in charge	,,	,, 16, ,,	,, 22, ,,	Ditto.
H. Collman	..	Assistant Surgeon	,,		Wilberforce	Ditto.
W. Johnston	25	Second Engineer	,,		Oct. 21, Ascension	Invalided.
W. Kingdon	..	Seamen's Instructor	,,		Albert	Dead.
C. Bigley	25	Stoker	,,	Sept. 23, ,,	Oct. 2, Fernando Po, Soudan	Ditto.
J. Perham	40	Ditto	,,	,, 20, ,,	Oct. 21, Ascension	Invalided.
W. Strain	24	Gent's Steward	,,	,, 14, ,,	,, 21, ,,	Ditto.
Jas. Cairns	24	Stoker	,,	,, 28, ,,	Dolphin	Dead.
Jas. Thomas	26	Carpenter's Mate	,,	,, 14, ,,	Sept. 21, Soudan	Ditto.
Cornelius Howe	26	Stoker	,,	,, 11, ,,	Oct. 21, ,,	Invalided.
John Young	33	Quarter Master	,,	,, 16, ,,	Dolphin	Ditto.
John Whittaker	35	Ditto	,,	,, 28, ,,	,,	Dead.
Charles Levinge	..	Steward	,,	,, 2, ,,	Soudan	Ditto.
John Dennis	21	Captain's Coxswain	,,		Oct. 21, ,,	Invalided.
John Davis	32	Boat Mate	,,	,, 16, ,,	,,	Ditto.
W. M'Lauchlin	..	Sailmaker	,,		Fernando Po	Ditto.
James Hill	26	Gun-room Steward	,,	,, 18, ,,	Dolphin	Dead.
H. Isaacs	35	Corporal of Marines	,,	,, 18, ,,		Invalided.
B. Pittam	36	Marine Artillery	,,	,, 3, ,,	Oct. 21	Ditto.
F. Hilbert	22	Marine	,,	,, 21, ,,	,,	Ditto.
P. Tyack	26	Ditto	,,	,, 13, ,,	,,	Ditto.
J. Strayman	22	A. B.	,,	,, 15, ,,	,,	Ditto.
W. Edwards	25	Purser's Steward, drowned at sea, 20th May				Dead.

Soudan's complement on leaving England consisted of 32 white men, of whom 25 are here disposed of—one still remains in the Hospital, one drowned* (between Teneriffe and Cape de Verdes 20th May, 1841), one invalided at Cape de Verdes, the remaining four only being effective at present.

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(Signed) T. FOWELL BUXTON.

G. W. Hope, Esq., M.P.,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 57.

No. 57. COPY of a LETTER from G. W. HOPE, Esq., to Captain TROTTER, R. N.

Sir, Downing-Street, April 3, 1843.

I AM directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th March, transmitting your Report of the proceedings of the late Niger Expedition, entrusted to your command.

His Lordship desires me to take this opportunity of conveying to yourself, and to the other members of the late Expedition, an expression of the sense entertained by his Lordship of the zeal and ability manifested by yourself, and those under your command, in the attempt to execute the objects of the Expedition under very difficult circumstances, and at great personal risk to all who were engaged in it.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) G. W. HOPE.

Captain Trotter, R. N.,
&c. &c. &c.

London: Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street,
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

THE RIVER NIGER

SHEWING THE COURSE OF THE EXPEDITION

UNDER

CAPTAIN TROTTER

IN 1841.

The Lower Course of the
RIVER NIGER
as far as it was ascended in the Expedition under
Capt.n Trotter R.N.
1841.
The English names are taken from Lieut.t (now Capt.n) William Allen's Chart of the Quorra.

London, Pub.d 17 April 1843, by John Arrowsmith, 10 Soho Square.

London: Printed by William Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street,
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Papers relative to the expedition to the river Niger Presented to both Houses or Parliament by command or Her Majesty

London 1843

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